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V.I.LENIN

A Short Biography

Leader and teacher of the world's working people, eminent propounder of the revolutionary theories of Marx and Engels, organiser of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the genius of the socialist revolution, founder of the Soviet state, distinguished scholar and at the same time the most warm-hearted and unassuming of men—such is Lenin as the world knows him.

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Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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Childhood and Youth. Early Revolutionary Activity

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) was born on April 10 (22), 1870, in the town of Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), situated on the banks of the Volga. His childhood and youth were spent amid the wide-open spaces of that great Russian river, in the towns of Simbirsk, Kazan and Samara (now Kuibyshev).

Lenin's grandfather was a native-born Russian serf peasant who lived in Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia*. In 1791 he moved to the Astrakhan Gubernia and thence to the city of Astrakhan, where he was registered in the lower middle class and where he died in great poverty.

Lenin's father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, from his early youth felt the pinch of poverty and

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* *Gubernia*—an administrative and territorial unit in tsarist Russia. It was divided into *uyezds*, the latter were subdivided into *volosts*.—*Ed.*

it was only with the help of his elder brother and by dint of hard work combined with exceptional ability that he was able to receive a higher education. On graduating from Kazan University, he taught in secondary schools, later becoming a school inspector and then Director of State Schools in Simbirsk Gubernia. He was a progressive-minded man who did much to promote education among the common people. He organised schools in the villages and helped the teachers, devoting great attention to the education of the non-Russian population of the Volga region.

Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna, was the daughter of a physician. She was educated at home, knew several foreign languages, was well versed in literature and very fond of music. A woman of strong character, intelligent, calm, good-natured, she devoted herself wholly to the education of her children.

There were six children in the Ulyanov family—Anna, Alexander, Vladimir, Olga, Dmitry and Maria. Their parents did their best to give them a liberal education and to bring them up to be industrious, honest, modest and considerate. It was no accident that all the Ulyanov children grew up to be revolutionaries.

Vladimir Ulyanov grew up in this large closely-knit family. He was a cheerful, fun-loving child, fond of boisterous games, swimming, skating and going out on long outings with his friends.

He learned to read when he was five, and started to attend the Simbirsk gymnasium at the age of nine. He was an earnest and studious pu-

pil of exceptional ability, and completed each year as a prize scholar. He was always ready to help his classmates who had difficulty with their lessons. During his last year at school he helped N. M. Okhotnikov, a Chuvash by nationality, to prepare for his examinations for a school-leaving certificate.

Vladimir Ulyanov read a good deal and was familiar with the works of such great Russian writers as Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, and Lev Tolstoy. An important place in his reading was occupied by the works of the revolutionary democrats Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev, including books which were then officially banned. A special favourite of his was Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?* Subsequently, Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of Chernyshevsky's activities as a distinguished scholar and irreconcilable opponent of tsarist autocracy and serfdom. Chernyshevsky, to use Lenin's words, was able, by means of his articles, to educate real revolutionaries even under conditions of rigorous censorship.

His family upbringing, the progressive Russian literature that he read and his observation of the life around him—all these were influences that shaped the character and views of the young Lenin. Capitalism in Russia in those days was making rapid strides, and factories and works were springing up employing machinery and thousands of workers. Nevertheless, many vestiges of serfdom still lingered on. Capitalist exploitation was

combined with feudal oppression, as a result of which the plight of the working people in town and country was a sorry one. The tyrannical rule of the tsarist government, landowner and capitalist oppression and the downtrodden position of the poverty-stricken workers and peasants aroused in the young man a burning hatred for the exploiters and sympathy for the exploited. These revolutionary sentiments were in evidence while Vladimir was still at school. On one occasion the headmaster, returning an essay he had written, remarked warningly: "What are these oppressed classes you've written about here; what have they got to do with it?"

His elder brother Alexander, a young man of strong will and high principles, exercised a great influence over Vladimir. "The example of his dearly loved brother was of tremendous importance to Vladimir," recalls Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Lenin's sister. From his early years he tried to imitate his brother in everything. When asked how he would act in a given situation he invariably answered: "Like Alexander." Alexander was a student at St. Petersburg University and could have become a brilliant scientist. However, he chose to dedicate his life to the revolutionary struggle against the tsarist autocracy in order to win a better life for the people. In his views Alexander Ulyanov stood somewhere between the Narodnaya Volya* and Marxism.

* *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will)—a revolutionary terrorist organisation which functioned in Russia in the 1880s.—*Ed.*

It was from his elder brother that Vladimir first learned about Marxist literature.

Vladimir was still very young when life dealt him a severe blow. In 1886 his father died suddenly, and before the family had recovered from the shock, disaster struck again. In March 1887 Alexander was arrested in St. Petersburg on a charge of being involved in an attempt to assassinate Alexander III, and in May of the same year he was executed in the Schlüsselburg Fortress.

"Alexander Ulyanov died the death of a hero," wrote his sister Anna, "and the halo of his revolutionary martyrdom lighted the path for his brother Vladimir."

His brother's execution was a stunning blow to Vladimir, and strengthened him in his resolve to dedicate his life to the revolutionary struggle. But, while admiring the courage and self-sacrifice of his brother and his brother's comrades, he rejected the path they had chosen. Young as he was, Vladimir was convinced that in the fight against the autocracy, assassination of individual government officials or even of the tsar himself was a wrong course that could achieve no purpose. "No," he said, "we shall not take that road; that is not the road to follow."

And Vladimir Ulyanov began his search for a different road to liberation for the working people. In preparing himself for revolutionary activity, he took a special interest in social sciences, of which he made a profound study. In August

1887, after finishing the gymnasium with a gold medal, he entered the Faculty of Law at Kazan University.

Here, the young Ulyanov established contact with advanced, revolutionary-minded students. Early in December 1887 he was expelled from the University for participating in a secret students' meeting and then arrested. In later years Lenin recalled the conversation he had with the police officer who escorted him to jail. "What's the use of rebelling, young man?" the officer said to him. "Don't you see there's a wall before you?" "Yes, but the wall is thoroughly *rotten*," Ulyanov answered. "Give it a push and it will topple over!"

The seventeen-year-old Vladimir had embarked upon revolutionary struggle against the autocracy.

He was banished to village of Kokushkino (now Lenino) in Kazan Gubernia. From then on he was under police surveillance. Living in this remote little village, he did a good deal of reading to broaden his knowledge. "I don't think I ever read so much in my life, not even in prison in St. Petersburg or in Siberia, as I did that year after I was banished to the village of Kokushkino. I read voraciously, from early morning till late at night," he afterwards recalled.

A year later he was permitted to return to Kazan, where he applied for readmission to the University. This being refused him, he applied for permission to go abroad to continue his education. But the tsarist authorities refused his request.

Ulyanov was now listed as "politically unreliable".

At that time several illegal revolutionary circles existed in Kazan. They had been organised by N. Y. Fedoseyev, one of the first Russian revolutionary Marxists. Lenin made the acquaintance of some of the members and joined one of the study circles.

He began to make a serious study of Marxism, the revolutionary theory named after its founder Karl Marx. With his friend Frederick Engels, Marx devoted his whole life to the cause of emancipating the working class and all labouring people from the yoke of capitalism. In the middle of the 19th century Marx and Engels founded a science of the laws of social development and mapped out the path for the revolutionary transformation of society.

These great teachers of the proletariat proved scientifically that a social system under which capitalists grew rich at the expense of the working people could not last for ever. To deliver mankind from capitalist oppression a force was needed capable of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and building a new, socialist society. That force was the proletariat, the wage-earning class. The proletariat was the most oppressed, the most organised and the most revolutionary class in bourgeois society. Explaining, at a later date, the essence of Marxism, Lenin wrote: "It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they indicated to the workers of the world their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to

rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle *all* working and exploited people."

Marx and Engels taught that the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists would ultimately lead to a socialist revolution in which the working class would overthrow the power of the capitalists and, in the interests of the working people, would set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., their own government.

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamental to Marxism. The workers need the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to crush the resistance of the exploiting classes—the capitalists and the landowners, win over the peasants and build a new, socialist society. To carry out this historic task, the proletariat must have a revolutionary party of its own, a party which, guided by scientific theory, would show the working class its goal and head its struggle for socialism.

At the time Lenin joined the revolutionary movement the Marxist ideology had won ascendancy in the West-European labour movement and had begun to spread in Russia. The first outstanding propagandist of Marxism in Russia was G. V. Plekhanov. Compelled by tsarist persecution to leave the country, Plekhanov and his comrades organised in Geneva in 1883 the first group of Russian Marxists known as the Emancipation of Labour group. Its members translated the works of Marx and Engels into Russian and smuggled them into Russia. The 1880, saw the

appearance in Russia of the first Marxist study circles and groups.

It was in Marxism that the young Lenin perceived the ideological weapon that would enable the Russian proletariat to win its emancipation and secure the victory of socialism. He made a profound study of *Capital*, Marx's principal work. His sister Anna recalls the ardent enthusiasm with which Lenin explained to her "the fundamentals of Marx's theory and the new horizons it opened.... He seemed to radiate an optimistic confidence which was very catching. Even in those early days his words carried the power to influence and convince." Vladimir Ulyanov became a confirmed Marxist and a fervent propagandist of the great ideas of scientific socialism.

In May 1889 the Ulyanovs moved to Samara Gubernia, where they lived for the next four and a half years. In summer the family lived at a farmstead near the village of Alakayevka, and in autumn moved to Samara. These were years of intensive work. Vladimir continued his profound study of the works by Marx and Engels and devoted a good deal of his time to learning foreign languages, especially German. At that period he translated into Russian *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, one of the most important programmatic works of Marx and Engels. His translation was read in manuscript in revolutionary youth study circles. With characteristic energy and conviction Lenin proceeded to popularise Marxist teachings among the youth.

At the time of his arrival in Samara, the revolu-

tionary-minded youth, mostly students, were influenced by Narodnik views, which were still predominant in the revolutionary movement in Russia. What were those views? How did the Narodniks fight tsarism?

The Narodniks maintained that capitalism would not develop in Russia, that Russia would follow a path of her own, different from that of other countries. They denied the historic role of the working class and regarded the peasantry as the principal revolutionary force, whom they tried to stir into action against the autocracy. To this end the revolutionary intelligentsia went to the countryside, "among the people".* But the peasants were sceptical of their preachings.

In their struggle against the autocracy the Narodniks attached great importance to terrorism, hoping by means of the assassination of individual government officials to frighten the autocracy and force it to change its policy. Thus they believed that individuals, and not the people, were capable of overthrowing tsarism. But this was a profound delusion. Neither the assassination of prominent tsarist officials nor even the tsar himself could change the existing order of things. The tsarist regime continued to exist. New servants of the tsar, just as devoted, were appointed in place of the assassinated ministers, and cruel reprisals were taken against the Narodniks, who were imprisoned, hanged, and condemned to

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* The word for people in Russian is *narod*, hence the name Narodniks.—*Tr.*

The Ulyanov family.
Photo. 1879

V. I. Lenin (Ulyanov).
Photo. 1887

The house in Shushenskoye where Lenin lived in exile.
Photo

N. K. Krupskaya.
Photo. 1895

penal servitude. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the Narodniks earned them recognition as revolutionaries and helped to spread their influence among the intellectuals and the advanced section of the working class. While paying a tribute of deep respect to the Narodniks of the 1870s for their revolutionary experience, courage and staunchness, Lenin criticised their erroneous views and actions.

After the secret Narodnaya Volya organisation had been crushed by the tsarist government, most of the Narodniks abandoned the revolutionary struggle and began to preach reconciliation with the autocracy. Unlike the former revolutionary Narodniks, who had fought tsarism, the Narodniks of the 1890s not only did not oppose the autocracy, but even cringed to it. They became known as "liberal" Narodniks. Lenin fought resolutely against these Narodniks, who had ceased to be revolutionaries in their views and actions.

It was in Samara that Lenin first came out publicly against the Narodniks. In heated arguments and debates he showed the fallacy of their theory and its inconsistency with reality.

Lenin continued his intensive studies. At Alakayevka in the summer he found himself a shady nook in an avenue of lime trees where there was a bench and a table. "Each morning after breakfast he would go there with an armful of books as if a strict teacher were awaiting him. And there he stayed completely alone until dinner-time," his sister Anna recalled. He had the knack of combining serious study with relaxation: he took

regular exercise and long walks, found time for music, singing and chess. He liked a joke and a laugh, always infecting others with his cheerfulness and gay youthful spirits.

In a matter of eighteen months he made an independent study of the complete four-year university course. In 1891 he brilliantly passed his examination at the Law Faculty of St. Petersburg University and gained an honours degree. The following year he began to act as counsel for the defence in the Samara District Court. His clients were mainly poor peasants. But Lenin was not concerned with judicial work. All his energies were channelled into studying Marxism, and preparing himself for active revolutionary activity.

In 1892 Lenin organised in Samara the first circle for the study of Marx and Engels and the propaganda of Marxism. Its members were revolutionary-minded young people, who included A. P. Sklyarenko, I. K. Lalayants, M. I. Semyonov, I. A. Kuznetsov and M. I. Lebedeva. Already at that time Lenin impressed his fellow-revolutionaries with his extraordinary erudition, conviction and ability to win supporters. "In this 23-year-old person," wrote Lalayants, "simplicity, tact, vivacity and youth were amazingly combined with staidness, profound learning, mercilessly logical consistency, clarity and accuracy of judgement."

Lenin was a close observer of Russian rural life. He often had talks with the peasants, inquired about their conditions of life and lent an attentive ear to their stories. At the same time he carefully studied economic works and statistical

data concerning the condition of the peasantry. In Samara he wrote an article "New Economic Developments in Peasant Life"—the earliest of his theoretical writings that has come down to us. He showed in this article the penetration of capitalism into agriculture and the division of the peasantry into poor, middle and rich (kulak) peasants.

Lenin did not confine his activities to Samara. He established contact with Marxists in Kazan, Saratov, Syzran and other towns on the Volga.

The years spent in Samara were of tremendous importance for his future political activity. It was a period in which he mustered strength for taking the broad road of revolutionary struggle. It was here that his Marxist, communist convictions took shape and crystallised. He became a dedicated continuator of the great cause and teaching of Marx and Engels. Provincial Samara, however, was too limited a field for Lenin's revolutionary activities. He yearned for some big industrial centre where large numbers of the proletariat were concentrated and which would offer wider opportunities for revolutionary struggle. In August 1893 Lenin left Samara for St. Petersburg.

Leader of Russia's Revolutionary Proletariat

St. Petersburg was then the capital of Russia and one of the main centres of the working-class movement. There were illegal circles there whose

members studied Marxism and propagandised the teachings of Marx and Engels among the advanced workers. Lenin joined one of these study circles. "So here, in our northern plains," veteran Party member G. M. Krzhizhanovsky writes in his reminiscences, "there appeared an unusual man, who more than any other understood the power of the weapon forged by the genius of Marx. For him a Marxist was above all a revolutionary."

Lenin threw himself into revolutionary work with great energy and passion. His profound knowledge of Marxism and his ability to apply it to Russian conditions, his faith in the triumph of the workers' cause combined with his talent as an organiser soon made him the recognised leader of the St. Petersburg Marxists. Lenin's activities in St. Petersburg coincided with the beginning of an upsurge in the mass working-class movement. Industry in Russia began to expand in the 1890s: new factories and mills sprang up, the working class grew rapidly and the struggle against the capitalists steadily gained momentum.

The proletariat needed a revolutionary workers' party of its own in order to be able to fulfil its historic mission. It was Lenin who posed to the St. Petersburg Marxists the task of forming such a party. The liberal Narodniks were the principal obstacle in the way of consolidating Marxism and creating a workers' party.

In St. Petersburg Lenin continued to fight the liberal Narodniks, who had launched violent attacks upon Marxism in their books and periodi-

cals, proclaiming themselves the friends of the people. In the summer of 1894 Lenin wrote his book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. In it he criticised every aspect of the Narodniks' doctrinal views and demonstrated how erroneous and harmful they were. He showed that the Narodnik movement, once a revolutionary movement, had degenerated into liberalism, with the Narodniks now offering a programme of petty reforms and giving up the revolutionary struggle against tsarism altogether. He showed up the liberal Narodniks for what they were—false friends of the people, representing the interests of the kulaks. The true spokesmen and champions of the working people, he wrote, were not the Narodniks, but the Marxists. In this book Lenin expounded and upheld the Marxist teaching and thoroughly analysed its importance for the revolutionary transformation of Russia. He was the first Russian Marxist to substantiate the historic role of Russia's working class as the leading, foremost revolutionary force of society. He showed that the working class was the only class able to lead all the working masses and rouse them to the struggle to overthrow the autocracy and capitalism and establish a workers' government of their own.

Lenin developed the great idea of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry without which it would be impossible to overthrow tsarism, the landowners and the bourgeoisie, establish the power of the working class and create a new, communist society. He propounded

and elaborated that idea all his life and for many years worked tirelessly for its realisation. He posed the primary task of uniting the Separate Marxist circles into a well-knit revolutionary party which was to guide the working-class movement.

What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats was printed in a few copies and circulated secretly. The St. Petersburg Marxists, in the absence of printing facilities, hectographed this work. The hectographed copies, known as "yellow copy-books", were circulated from hand to hand, rousing lively discussions and comment. The book was read in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Vladimir, Kiev, Riga and other cities. It was familiar also to the members of the Emancipation of Labour group. Its impact was tremendous. It played an outstanding role in the struggle against the Narodniks and pointed out to the Russian revolutionaries, to the working class, the only correct path of struggle and victory. "After the appearance of this book Lenin became a still more popular and recognised authority among the Marxists," S. I. Mickiewicz, a participant in the revolutionary movement, wrote in his reminiscences. "The young Russian Marxist trend realised that in his person it had found an immense political and theoretical force."

Lenin was obliged to fight hard not only against the Narodniks but also against the "legal Marxists". The latter were bourgeois intellectuals who wrote articles on Marxism for the legal press, i.e.,

newspapers and periodicals licensed by the tsarist government. In their endeavour to adapt Marxism to the interests of the bourgeoisie, they rejected the struggle against the capitalist system and drained Marxism of its revolutionary content—the teaching of the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But since the "legal Marxists" criticised the Narodniks, Lenin considered a temporary agreement with them acceptable. At the same time he sharply criticised the views of these disguised enemies of Marxism and exposed their liberal-bourgeois nature. He taught the Marxists to defend the purity of the revolutionary doctrine, to combat every distortion and perversion of it.

Lenin applied himself with ardour to the task of building up a revolutionary Marxist party. He established contact with advanced workers in the big factories—V. A. Shelgunov (of the Baltic Shipbuilding Yards), I. V. Babushkin (of the Neva Shipbuilding Yards and Machine Works), N. Y. Merkulov (of the Alexandrovsk Machine Works) and many others. These were prominent representatives of the Russian working class, who, under Lenin's guidance, set out to build a proletarian party. Lenin carefully reared and trained cadres of revolutionary workers as organisers of the Party.

Lenin directed the workers' study circles in the Nevskaya Zastava, Peterburgsky and Vyborgsky districts of the capital. The circles met in the homes of workers. The workers from the Semyannikov Factory, for example, used to meet at the

home of I. V. Babushkin, who later became a prominent figure in the Russian working-class movement, and one whom Lenin referred to as the pride of the Party, a national hero. "Everything won from the tsarist autocracy was won *exclusively* by the struggle of the masses led by such people as Babushkin," Lenin wrote.

Lenin had the knack of explaining the most complicated problems of Marxist theory in the simplest and most intelligible terms. He strove to make Marxist teaching understandable to the workers by connecting it with the problems of everyday life and the needs of the working people.

"Our lectures," Babushkin recollected, "were extremely lively and interesting.... We were all very pleased with these lectures and constantly admired the wisdom of our lecturer."

In 1894 Lenin made the acquaintance of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, who was a teacher at an evening Sunday school for workers in the Nevskaya Zastava district. Many of her pupils were members of the study circles which Lenin conducted and this brought Lenin and Krupskaya together.

Lenin enjoyed the deep affection of the workers. He was to them a close, considerate and responsive friend. More and more workers flocked to his study circles. He carefully studied their working and living conditions and took a deep interest in their problems. "Vladimir Ilyich was interested in every little detail that could help him piece together a picture of the life and conditions of the workers, to find something that would help

better to approach them with revolutionary propaganda," Krupskaya writes in her memoirs. Using examples they could understand, he showed the workers how Marxism should be applied and what methods to use in fighting the capitalists and the tsarist autocracy.

The St. Petersburg Marxists carried on their propaganda in small study circles. Lenin was the first to raise the question of abandoning Marxist propaganda among a narrow circle of advanced workers in favour of wide agitation among the masses. An important part in this was played by Lenin's own pamphlets and leaflets. "There is nothing I have wanted so much, or dreamed of so much, as an opportunity of writing for workers," he used to say. Worded in clear, simple language, his pamphlets and leaflets were comprehensible to the most unenlightened reader. Lenin described in them the plight of the downtrodden workers, their cruel exploitation by the capitalists, the poverty and oppression under which the masses were suffering, and outlined the course to be taken by the working class in its fight for emancipation. For greater clarity Lenin often had recourse to literary quotations. In his pamphlet *The New Factory Law,* for instance, he paraphrases Krylov's well-known fable "The Lion's Share". The new rules concerning overtime, wrote Lenin, reminded one of the fables about how the lion shared the prey among his fellow-hunters: ". . .the first portion he took by right; the second portion he took for being the king of beasts; the third for being strongest of all; and

as for the fourth—whoever dared as much as stretch his paw towards it would not get away alive." That is what the capitalists do in cruelly exploiting and robbing the workers. This agitation helped to spread the strike movement.

In the spring of 1895 on the instructions of the St. Petersburg Marxists, Lenin went abroad to contact the Emancipation of Labour group and learn more about the labour movement in Western Europe.

In Switzerland he met G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Axelrod, members of the Emancipation of Labour group, with whom he made arrangements for the joint publication of the collection of articles under the general title of *Rabotnik* (The Worker). Plekhanov wrote about how deeply impressed he was by Lenin. He had met many people from Russia during the years he had lived abroad, he said in a letter, but none of them had raised so many hopes as the young Ulyanov. What Plekhanov liked in Lenin were his keen intellect, energy and profound conviction that the revolution was bound to win.

From Switzerland Lenin went to Paris and Berlin where he attended meetings of the French and German workers and studied their conditions and mode of life. In Paris he met Paul Lafargue, son-in-law of Karl Marx and a prominent figure in the revolutionary labour movement. Lenin had looked forward to meeting Frederick Engels, that great leader and teacher of the international proletariat, but Engels was seriously ill and the meeting did not take place.

All his free time Lenin devoted to the study of Marxism, reading literature in the libraries, which was unobtainable in Russia.

On his return from abroad, Lenin visited Vilno, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo before going to St. Petersburg, and established contact with the local Social-Democrats, as the revolutionary Marxists were then called. He had smuggled Marxist literature into Russia in a suitcase with a double bottom, and this was distributed in many towns.

"...In the customs," Lenin's sister Anna writes in her reminiscences, "Vladimir Ilyich's suitcase was turned upside-down, and it was tapped on the bottom. Knowing that experienced customs officials could detect the presence of a false bottom by tapping, Vladimir Ilyich thought, as he told us, that he was done for. That he had not been detained and had delivered his suitcase to its destination in St. Petersburg, where it was promptly and satisfactorily disembowelled, explained the excellent mood in which he came to us in Moscow."

Early in September 1895 Lenin returned to St. Petersburg, where he applied himself with still greater energy to revolutionary work, frequently holding meetings and having talks with the workers. Not even heightened police surveillance could interfere with these activities. He was clever at escaping the surveillance of the *okhranka**

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* *Okhranka*—a secret police department set up in 1881 for political investigation and suppression of the revolutionary movement.—*Ed.*

and giving the police spies the slip, and frequently changed his lodgings to elude arrest.

In the autumn of 1895 Lenin united the Marxist study circles of St. Petersburg into a single political organisation, which later became known as the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Its leadership consisted of a central group headed by Lenin. The League members included N. K. Krupskaya, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, L. Martov (Y.O. Zederbaum), A. N. Potresov, S. I. Radchenko, V. V. Starkov, A. A. Vaneyev and P. K. Zaporozhets.

The League of Struggle embraced the workers' study circles at factories and mills. These study circles were directed by district groups, which performed the functions of district committees. Lenin educated the members of the League in a spirit of strict discipline, respect for the central body and efficient fulfilment of its directives. The organisation was made accountable for its activities at all levels.

The League of Struggle was the embryo of the revolutionary, Marxist party in Russia. It drew its support from the mass working-class movement and effected leadership of the proletariat's class struggle. For the first time in Russia the League combined the ideas of scientific socialism with the working-class movement. And therein lay its great historic significance.

Up to the mid-1890s the isolated Marxist study circles in Russia had had little contact with the workers' movement. They propagated Marxism solely among the advanced workers and did no

political work among the masses. Lenin's League of Struggle developed mass political agitation and began to direct the strike struggle. It issued leaflets which roused the revolutionary consciousness of the workers. In a short period of time it published dozens of leaflets exposing the arbitrary methods of the factory-owners and telling the workers how to fight for their interests and what demands to present to the capitalists and the tsarist government.

The famous strike of the St. Petersburg textile workers in the summer of 1896, involving over 30,000 mill-hands, was directed by the League of Struggle. This strike enhanced the prestige of the Social-Democrats of St. Petersburg. It was to their leadership that it owed its wide scope and strong political impact. The influence of the League spread far beyond St. Petersburg. Following its initiative and example, the workers' study circles of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Yaroslavl, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other towns and gubernias united into Social-Democratic leagues and groups. The League's activities lent an impetus to the revolutionary movement throughout Russia, thereby facilitating the creation there of a Marxist party of the working class.

The tsarist government had the activities of the League of Struggle watched and dealt it a heavy blow. At the beginning of December 1895 most of its leaders, including Lenin, were arrested. The police seized the first issue of the newspaper *Rabocheye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause) which had been prepared for press by the League mem-

bers. Thus ended this attempt of the Russian Social-Democrats to put out an illegal workers' newspaper.

Lenin spent over fourteen months in solitary confinement in a St. Petersburg prison, but his work for the revolution did not cease behind bars. He found ways and means of directing the activities of the League even from prison. He got in touch with comrades outside, wrote letters, leaflets and pamphlets and smuggled them out of the prison. While in prison he wrote the first draft programme of the Marxist party and explanatory notes to it. Lenin wrote revolutionary documents with milk between the lines of books and journals. This writing was unnoticeable until the paper was heated, when it became sufficiently legible to be read. This method was frequently used by the revolutionaries in their correspondence. Lenin made little "inkpots" out of bread to hold the milk, and swallowed them quickly at the approach of his jailers. "Today I have eaten six inkpots," he wrote humorously in one of his letters.

Lenin corresponded with other comrades in prison, using for the purpose books borrowed from the prison library in which he dotted letters to form the necessary words. His letters were cheerful and full of faith in the ultimate victory of the working class. His concern for his comrades was manifested in every letter of his from prison. He constantly gave his relatives assignments for warm clothes to be sent to so-and-so, for a "fiancée" to be found to visit a comrade in prison who had no one coming to see him.

While in prison Lenin began writing one of his major works—*The Development of Capitalism in Russia.* To gather material for it he read hundreds of books and periodicals. In his letters to his relatives he sent lists of the books he needed for his work and his elder sister Anna saw that he got them.

Lenin worked out a strict routine for himself in prison. He spent most of his time working and did physical exercises regularly before retiring for the night. "You loosen up so well at times that it makes you warm even in the worst cold, when the cell is like an ice-well, and after it you sleep better," Lenin later recalled. He steeled himself physically as well as intellectually for the coming struggle and taught his associates to do the same.

When his youngest sister Maria was in prison, Lenin wrote to her: "I also advise you to arrange your work on the books you have in such a way as to vary it; I remember quite well that a change of reading or work—from translation to reading, from writing to gymnastics, from serious reading to fiction—helps a great deal."

In St. Petersburg Lenin developed as an organiser and leader of the working class. He theoretically substantiated the course to be taken by the revolutionary movement and prepared the ground for creating a proletarian party in Russia.

Siberian Exile

On February 13, 1897, a sentence of three years' exile in Eastern Siberia was announced to Lenin.

That was the punishment the tsarist authorities meted out to him for his revolutionary activities.

In May 1897 Lenin arrived at the place of exile, the village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk District, Yenisei Gubernia, hundreds of miles away from the railway. (Today Shushenskoye is a big district centre of the Krasnoyarsk Region. In 1938, the house where Lenin lived was turned into a museum. According to the general plan for reconstructing Shushenskoye, to mark Lenin's birth centenary, the houses where Lenin lived as well as the adjoining part of the village were restored to their original appearance and transformed into a Memorial.)

It was a hard time for Lenin. "During the first period of my exile," he wrote in a letter to his sister, "I decided not to look at a map of European Russia or Europe; there was always such a bitter taste in my mouth when I opened those maps and looked at the various black dots on them." Cut off though he was from direct revolutionary activity, he did not lose his courage, energy and optimism. He worked with his customary zeal and made a close study of Siberian village life and the condition of the peasantry. Lenin enjoyed great respect among the local people. They often came to him for assistance and advice. On one occasion he helped a worker to win his case against his employer, a gold-mine owner. After that the peasants started coming to him still more frequently with their troubles, seeking his help.

"...When I was in exile in Siberia," Lenin recalled twenty-five years later, "I had occasion to

act in the capacity of a lawyer. I was not a certified lawyer, because, being summarily exiled, I was not allowed to practice, but as there was no other lawyer in the region, people came and confided their troubles to me." Lenin gave them advice and taught them how to protect themselves against the high-handedness of the local authorities and the money-bags.

A year later Krupskaya joined Lenin in Shushenskoye. She too had been arrested in connection with the League of Struggle case and banished to Ufa Gubernia, but as Lenin's fiancée she was allowed to serve her sentence in Shushenskoye. There they married. Krupskaya became Lenin's wife, remaining his loyal comrade and devoted assistant to the end of his days.

With the help of relatives and friends Lenin received in exile the books and journals he needed. He continued to study the works of Marx and Engels, followed the newspapers, and translated foreign books into Russian. The light in his window often burned far into the night amid the darkness of the slumbering village.

While in exile, Lenin drew up a draft programme for the Party and wrote more than thirty books and pamphlets. A special place among them is occupied by his pamphlet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats.* In these works he outlined the tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, proved the need for a united workers' party and attacked the enemies of Marxism.

There Lenin also completed his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia,* which was

published in 1899. This major scientific work on the economic development of Russia was a direct continuation of Marx's *Capital*. Lenin's researches into Russian economics were an important contribution to Marxist political economy. On the basis of factual material Lenin showed that capitalism in Russia was making progress not only in industry, but in agriculture as well. This book dealt the deathblow to Narodism. In it Lenin revealed the deep-going contradictions inherent in capitalist society. He showed how the working class, the grave-digger of capitalism and builder of a new, socialist society, was growing and maturing within capitalist society. Although the Russian working class was proportionately small compared to the rest of the population, Lenin saw in it a great force and revealed the leading role it was destined to play in the revolutionary movement. At the same time he stressed the need for the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, without which there could be no victory in the coming revolution. This book was an important contribution to the scientific elaboration of the theory, programme and tactics of the proletarian party. It sold out quickly among the progressive-minded intellectuals, students and members of the workers' study circles, and was of tremendous significance in the ideological and theoretical education of the Marxist cadres.

Lenin always regarded Marxism as a living, developing doctrine, which you not only had to know how to apply to practice, but also to elaborate and develop. "We do not regard Marx's the-

ory as something completed and inviolable," he wrote, while in exile, "on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." Such a creative approach to Marxist theory is characteristic of all Lenin's activities.

A hard worker, Lenin also knew how to relax. In his spare time he went skating or hunting, or took long walks in the woods and meadows. His favourite spots were the wooded banks of the Shusha and the beautiful lakes in the vicinity. He admired the majestic beauty of the Siberian landscape and the great Yenisei. The hardships of exile were relieved by the rare visits of exiled comrades living nearby or by visits to them. Among the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats serving terms of exile in Minusinsk District at the time were G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. V. Starkov, A. A. Vaneyev, V. K. Kurnatovsky and P. N. Lepeshinsky. Lenin visited Minusinsk, the village of Tesinskoye and Krasnoyarsk. At friendly get-togethers Lenin would join in the chorus singing. He was particularly fond of revolutionary songs, such as "A Victim of Dire Bondage", "Comrades, the Bugles Are Calling" and "Warszawianka".

The letters he received from his relatives, with whom he regularly corresponded, were a source of great joy to him. His letters home were full of warmth and tenderness with no hint of despondency or complaint about his lot. "I remember that his letters were always refreshing and an antidote to all depression and nervousness,"

his sister Anna related. "They inspired enthusiasm. . . . His witty jokes filled one with the joy of living and this was the best lubrication for any kind of work."

Especially tender were his letters to his mother, for whom he had a great affection. He was always concerned about her health, begging her not to worry about him and telling her everything about his own life and plans. Lenin shared with his relatives not only bonds of kinship but the bond of common political views and convictions. This gave to his correspondence with them a character that was more than personal. It touched upon many pressing and topical problems of Marxist theory, practice, and politics, as far as that was possible in letters that were subject to censorship.

Even in his remote exile Lenin carefully followed the development of the working-class movement. He carried on a voluminous correspondence with its spokesmen in Russia and abroad, and was well informed on the condition of the Social-Democratic organisations, their difficulties and their needs.

At that time some of the Russian Social-Democrats, under the influence of strike action which had achieved a certain measure of success, began to persuade the workers that they had to confine themselves to economic struggle, i.e., fight for higher wages, shorter working hours and better working conditions. The political struggle, they maintained, should be left to the bourgeoisie. These Social-Democrats came to be known as

Economists. Lenin regarded the activities of the Economists as a grave danger, seeing that they were trying to induce the working class to compromise with the bourgeoisie, were belittling the revolutionary role of the working class and diverting it from the political struggle. The Economists, who were out to subordinate the interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie, were the first opportunists in the Russian working-class movement. And Lenin gave them decisive battle.

On receiving from his sister A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova in the summer of 1899 a document setting forth the views of the Economists, Lenin wrote a "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats", which was unanimously approved and signed by seventeen exiled Marxists living in Minusinsk District. In this "Protest" Lenin exposed the erroneous and harmful views of the Economists to the workers' cause and outlined the basic tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats. The "Protest" stressed the great importance of a proletarian party in the struggle for the emancipation of the working people. "Only an independent working-class party can serve as a strong bulwark in the fight against the autocracy," said this remarkable document.

From Nadezhda Krupskaya Lenin learned of the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, held in Minsk in March 1898, which announced the foundation of the Party. In this lay the congress' historic significance. Commending the congress, Lenin stressed that the

name given to the Party implied that it united all the progressive-minded workers of the different nationalities of Russia. The aims of the Party were openly declared in the Manifesto adopted by the congress. Lenin subscribed to the basic propositions in the Manifesto. The congress, however, failed to unite the scattered Marxist study circles and organisations. It had adopted no programme or rules, and the Central Committee elected by it was arrested shortly afterwards. The lack of cohesion among the Social-Democratic organisations not only continued but increased. Their activities were limited and local and there was no durable contact or continuity in their work. To overcome this parochialism and amateurishness a strong organisation of the Russian Social-Democrats was needed.

A plan ripened in Lenin's mind while in exile for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia, which, owing to the harsh conditions of reactionary autocracy, would have to be built deep underground. The chief role in Lenin's great plan was assigned to the setting up of an all-Russia political newspaper, which was to rally the local committees and groups on a revolutionary Marxist stand, launch thorough preparations for a Second Congress and work out a single Programme and Rules of the Party. Lenin, however, did not restrict the role of the newspaper to that of propaganda and agitation alone. He came to the conclusion that it should also become the organiser of the Party's forces and should unite the local study circles and groups of Social-Demo-

crats into a single organisation. This was an essentially fresh outlook on the role of a Marxist newspaper, and one which upset all previous conceptions of the role and significance of the periodical press among the Social-Democrats. G. M. Krzhizhanovsky recalled a walk with Lenin on the banks of the Yenisei on a frosty winter evening, when Lenin enthusiastically revealed to him this novel and daring plan of his.

Lenin looked forward eagerly to the termination of his exile. Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote that in these last months of his exile "Vladimir Ilyich hardly slept at all, and grew terribly thin. He would sit up all night, working out his plan in fullest detail.... He grew more and more impatient as time went on, eager to throw himself into the work."

On top of everything the police suddenly came down with a search warrant. What Lenin feared most of all was that the authorities would seek an excuse to prolong his term of exile. Luckily, however, everything went off well.

On the termination of his exile, Lenin, with his family, left Shushenskoye in the morning of January 29, 1900. A long road faced them, some 300 versts of it by horse-drawn sled. Despite the severe frost they travelled day and night. Lenin was in a hurry to start active revolutionary work again.

He was forbidden to live in the capital and the industrial centres of Russia. Thus, to be nearer St. Petersburg, he decided to take up residence in Pskov.

For a Marxist Party of a New Type

As soon as Lenin regained his freedom, he applied himself energetically to the realisation of his plan, for which he made careful and thorough preparations. The whole of 1900 was spent in intensive work on the organisation of an all-Russia political newspaper. It was practically impossible to do this in Russia owing to police persecution, and so Lenin decided to publish the newspaper abroad. But first he established contact with many Social-Democratic organisations in Russia, made arrangements for financing the newspaper and selected future contributors and correspondents. For this purpose, despite the police ban, Lenin visited Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Samara, Syzran, Nizhni-Novgorod, Ufa and Smolensk.

In May 1900, while on a secret visit to St. Petersburg, Lenin was detained by the police. He had on him a list of foreign addresses jotted down on the back of a bill. Luckily the gendarmes did not discover it and Lenin was shortly released. His further stay in Russia was becoming dangerous. Tsarism sensed in Lenin a powerful enemy. Zubatov, Colonel of the Gendarmes, reported in 1900 in a secret letter to his chief that "there is nobody bigger than Ulyanov in the revolution today", and suggested organising his assassination.

With great difficulty, Lenin managed to leave the country. On July 16, 1900, he left for Ger-

many; thus began his first period of emigration. It lasted for more than five years.

Iskra (The Spark) was the name selected for the all-Russia revolutionary newspaper. Lenin arrived in Munich, where the newspaper was to be published. For reasons of secrecy his correspondence with Russia was conducted through Prague to prevent the tsarist secret police spies from tracking the source of the *Iskra* publication. The newspaper claimed all his attention.

A number of problems arose in connection with the launching of the newspaper—money had to be raised, printing premises found and Russian type procured. The German Social-Democrats were very helpful in this respect. In a letter to Nuremberg in September 1900 he wrote: "All our vital juices must go to nourish our coming offspring." Indeed, *Iskra* was Lenin's brainchild.

In December of the same year the first issue of *Iskra* appeared. Every issue carried the motto "The Spark Will Kindle a Flame!" And that is what happened eventually. A great revolutionary conflagration burst out in Russia, in the flames of which the tsarist autocracy and the capitalist system met their doom.

Iskra began to appear at a time when the revolutionary movement, headed by the working class, was mounting in Russia. Frequent strikes were paralysing the factories, the peasants were rising against the landowners and there was unrest among the students. A strong, organised Marxist party was needed to head this movement.

And Lenin's *Iskra* headed the struggle for the creation of such a party.

On Lenin's initiative and under his guidance, *Iskra* promotion groups and a network of agents were set up in Russia. They circulated the paper, sent in letters, articles and other material and organised collections in support of the paper. The *Iskra* agents carried out their dangerous and heroic work in the face of constant persecution by the gendarmes and police spies. In the event of arrest they were threatened by prison sentences, hard labour and exile. Among the agents of *Iskra* were I. V. Babushkin, N. E. Bauman, S. I. Gusev, M. I. Kalinin, V. Z. Ketskhoveli, M. M. Litvinov, Y. D. Stasova, T. S. Zelikson-Bobrovskaya and R. S. Zemlyachka.

Lenin attached great importance to the work of *Iskra* agents. Under his guidance and training they became courageous, devoted party organisers and fighters for the people's cause. Correspondence relating to that period shows how carefully Lenin studied local conditions when he gave people concrete advice or sent them out to establish contacts, which he always considered very important. "...Be sure to put us in *direct* touch with new forces, with the youth, with newly formed circles," he wrote to S. I. Gusev. "Don't forget that the strength of a revolutionary organisation lies in the number of its connections." *Iskra* became the rallying and training centre for the Party's forces.

It was extremely difficult to deliver the paper to Russia, and for greater convenience of trans-

portation it was printed on thin strong paper. To evade police obstacles, *Iskra* was shipped out in suitcases with a double bottom, hidden in the binding of books sent to reliable addresses, or sewn into the waistcoats of comrades going to Russia. Owing to steadily growing demand for the newspaper, underground printing presses for reprinting *Iskra* were shortly set up in Russia at Baku and Kishinev.

Lenin was the guiding spirit of the newspaper, which played a decisive role in the building up of the Party. It was a rare issue that appeared without at least one article by him. The paper carried articles on how best to organise and build the Party, how to draw the masses into the revolutionary struggle. It published reports on the revolutionary movement in various towns in Russia, and kept its readers informed on what was going on at the factories and mills, and on the situation in the countryside. It soon became very popular among the workers. Each issue was passed round and read to tatters. "... I showed *Iskra* to many fellow-workers," one mill worker wrote, "and the copy was read to tatters; but we treasure it.... *Iskra* writes about our cause, about the all-Russia cause, which cannot be evaluated in kopeks or measured in hours. When you read the paper you understand why the gendarmes and the police are afraid of us workers and of the intellectuals whom we follow."

In the latter part of 1901 Vladimir Ilyich began to sign some of his writings with the name Lenin. It is often asked why he chose this pseu-

donym. According to his wife, the choice was apparently a random one. Possibly, when working in *Iskra* with Plekhanov, who signed his contributions with the name Volgin (after the Russian river Volga), Lenin formed his own pseudonym from the name of the great Siberian river, the Lena.

The year 1902 saw the publication of Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done?* This was a remarkable work, which played a tremendously important part in the creation of the Party. In this book Lenin gave a detailed and closely reasoned exposition of his plan for building a proletarian Marxist party. He envisaged it as a consistently revolutionary, militant party of a new type.

Labour parties had existed in Western Europe long before a proletarian party was formed in Russia. How, in Lenin's view, was the Russian Social-Democratic Party to differ from those parties? The Social-Democratic labour parties of Western Europe had taken shape under conditions of a relatively peaceful development of capitalism. They were not adapted for revolutionary struggle and they tolerated opportunists who gradually began to play the leading role in them. The opportunists maintained that it was possible to put an end to exploitation and pass over to socialism without a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They thereby doomed the workers to inactivity and, in effect, themselves turned defenders of the capitalist system. The opportunists revised Marxism, draining it of its revolutionary essence. They were

compromisers, performing the role of servants and agents of the bourgeoisie. The leaders of most of the Social-Democratic parties denounced opportunism, while in practice they put up with it.

Lenin envisaged an entirely different kind of party, a truly revolutionary proletarian party capable of organising and leading the working class of Russia to the assault of the tsarist autocracy and capitalism. In order to lead the workers' movement, to become its guiding force, the Party had to be armed with advanced revolutionary theory, the theory of Marxism. It had to carry that theory into the working-class movement, thus making that movement socialist-conscious. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," was how Lenin assessed the role of Marxist theory.

Lenin showed that in the conditions of bourgeois society there could only be an ideology of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. There was no middle line. The bourgeoisie being the ruling class, it had greater means and opportunities for spreading its ideology than the proletariat. Therefore, every attempt to belittle the role of consciousness and bow to spontaneity, as the Economists urged, actually meant strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat. It followed from this that the immediate task of the Social-Democrats was to combat bourgeois ideology, and carry on the work of political education of the working class, in order to raise it to the level of a socialist consciousness.

Attaching great importance to the organisation of a strongly welded centralised party, Lenin elaborated a plan for building up such a party. He believed that the Party should consist of two sections: a limited circle of professional revolutionaries wholly dedicated to the revolution, and a wide network of local Party organisations, the bulk of the membership.

Lenin attached particular importance to the training of professional revolutionaries from among the workers. According to his understanding, a professional revolutionary always had to be in the thick of the masses, to know their needs and sentiments, to react to each and every manifestation of tyranny and oppression wherever it occurred and whatever class it affected, to be able to take advantage of "every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat".

Lenin's plan for building up the Party was opposed by the Economists. Denying the proletariat an independent political role, they were also opposed to the creation of an independent revolutionary party. In the book *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin dealt a crushing blow to the Economists. He showed Economism to be a variety of international opportunism. The book was thus directed not only against Russian, but also against international opportunism. It was an important factor in rallying the Party ranks on Marxist

ground, in preparation for the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which created a truly revolutionary Marxist party.

Lenin was greatly interested in how his book was received by the readers. "We have received your letter expressing your gratitude to the author of *What Is To Be Done?...*" he wrote to the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in August 1902. "Did you have enough copies of *What Is to Be Done?*? Have the workers read it, and what is their reaction?"

Elaborating his theory of the revolutionary party of the working class Lenin attached the utmost importance to giving the Party a militant scientific programme. "A programme," he wrote, "is a brief, clear and precise statement *of all the things a party is striving and fighting for.*" Lenin played the leading role in drafting the Party's first programme. It was only thanks to his unremitting and consistent efforts that *Iskra* was able to draw up a revolutionary Party programme which clearly and unequivocally defined the ultimate goal of the working-class movement—the building of a new, socialist society—and the ways that led to that goal, namely, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The programme also outlined the immediate tasks, namely, the overthrow of tsarism and the establishment of a democratic republic. The unity of the struggle for democracy and socialism was thus emphasised.

To bring the Party programme home to the peasants, Lenin wrote a pamphlet in the spring of

1903 entitled *To the Rural Poor* in which he simply and clearly explained what the workers' party was out to achieve and why the poor peasants should ally themselves with the workers. He wrote: "We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work. Not a handful of rich people, but all the working people must enjoy the fruits of their common labour. Machines and other improvements must serve to ease the work of all and not to enable a few to grow rich at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people. This new and better society is called *socialist society*. The teachings about this society are called *socialism*."

Early in 1902 police spies got on the tracks of *Iskra*. It became necessary to leave Munich, as further stay there was dangerous. The editorial board decided to transfer publication of the newspaper to London. Lenin arrived there in April 1902.

Living in the English capital, Lenin closely studied the labour movement and the life of the English workers, and attended meetings and gatherings. Krupskaya, in her memoirs, relates that Lenin was always drawn towards the workers. He often got to know from the newspapers where some workers' meeting was to be held, and he went there, sat down in a corner and listened.

Lenin spent a good deal of his time in libraries, especially in the British Museum, where Karl Marx had also worked.

In the spring of 1903 Lenin moved from Lon-

don to Geneva, where *Iskra* was then being printed. He and his wife rented a small house in the suburbs. Here he received comrades arriving from Russia. Many of them had escaped from exile and had no means of subsistence. Lenin took care of them and saw that they were provided with food and lodgings. He was a very tactful, considerate and kind-hearted person. Always genial and charming, Lenin had the knack of putting people at their ease. Recalling her meeting with Lenin, T. S. Zelikson-Bobrovskaya, an *Iskra* agent, spoke of his simplicity, modesty and cheerfulness. "Vladimir Ilyich wore a dark-blue Russian blouse, which gave a particularly Russian appearance to his stocky figure." A member of the Ekaterinoslav Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. who visited Lenin in Geneva related that Lenin gave him a more than friendly welcome, received him like an elder brother, an older comrade and at once created a free and easy atmosphere.

The convocation of the Party's Second Congress had now become an urgent task. Lenin gave a good deal of his time to making arrangements for it. He planned the work of the congress, prepared draft resolutions for it and drew up the Rules of the Party. He looked forward eagerly to the opening of the congress, warmly welcomed the delegates and plied them with questions about Russia, about the revolutionary sentiments of the workers, and the activities of the Social-Democratic organisations. "Vladimir Ilyich had a special way of listening and asking questions," recalls Y. D. Stasova, a veteran member of the Party.

Through his questions he would direct the conversation into the channel he wanted and make it touch upon the questions he was interested in." Living abroad, he was homesick for Russia, and any piece of news from there gladdened him. Wherever he happened to be he always dreamt of his native land, of its broad expanses, of the Russian winter with its crisp frosty air, of the Volga, the river of his youth.

The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party opened in July 1903. Its first sittings were held in Brussels, but owing to difficulties created by the Belgian police the sittings were transferred to London. The congress was heterogeneous in composition. Besides consistently proletarian revolutionaries in the person of the Iskrists, there were also opportunists, and wavereres known as the "Marsh". Although the Iskrists were in the majority, not all of them were firm. Among them were unstable or "soft" elements. Therefore a fierce fight at the congress was waged by the revolutionary wing against the opportunists for the triumph of *Iskra* principles.

Lenin took an active part in steering the congress. Together with his supporters he conducted a vigorous fight for *Iskra* policy against the opportunists. The minutes of the congress record over a hundred speeches, remarks and rejoinders by Lenin.

There was a long and heated debate over the draft programme of the Party. Lenin and his supporters advocated a revolutionary programme, the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the

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alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the right of nations to self-determination, and proletarian internationalism. These basic Marxist propositions were opposed by the overt opportunists: Bundists,* Economists and other anti-Leninists. Actually, they were supported by Trotsky. But all their attacks were rebuffed by the *Iskra* supporters.

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The congress, by a majority of votes, adopted the revolutionary programme drafted by the editorial board of *Iskra*. It was the world's first Party programme in which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat was put forward as the basic aim of the proletarian party.

Guided by this programme, the Party was able to wage a successful fight for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. It took the Party nearly fifteen years of hard, heroic struggle and persevering, selfless effort, privations and sacrifice to fulfil its first programme.

Sharp differences of opinion were revealed at the congress during the discussion of the Party Rules. Lenin was for a monolithic militant party, every member of which would take an active part in the revolutionary struggle and submit to Party discipline. He therefore maintained that anyone who accepted the Party programme, paid his dues, belonged to one of its organisations and participated in its work, could be considered a member

* *Bund* (A Jewish workers' union in Lithuania, Poland and Russia)—a Jewish nationalistic organisation founded in 1897 and uniting mainly the Jewish artisans in Russia's western districts.—*Ed.*

of the Party. This formulation practically debarred non-proletarian, unstable elements and made it possible to build up an organised and disciplined party.

The congress, however, by a negligible majority of votes, adopted Martov's opportunist motion to the effect that anyone was eligible for membership who accepted the Party programme and supported it financially, with no obligation to belong to any Party organisation or submit to Party discipline. This interpretation of membership meant making the Party an amorphous body and would throw it open to all sorts of unstable elements. With a party built on these lines the workers would never have been able to defeat their class enemies. Trotsky joined Martov in opposing Lenin's organisational plan for building the Party. At the concluding sittings of the congress, when the central bodies were being elected, the balance of forces shifted in favour of Lenin's supporters, since some of the opportunists had left the congress. Lenin's supporters received the majority of votes in the elections to the Central Committee and the editorial board of *Iskra*, which was recognised as the Party's Central Organ. From that time they came to be known as Bolsheviks (from the Russian word *bolshinstvo*, majority.—*Ed.*) while the opportunists, who were in the minority, were called Mensheviks (from *menshinstvo*, minority.—*Ed.*).

The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was a turning-point not only in Russia's but in the world's labour movement. Its historic significance

lies in the fact that it created a proletarian party of a new type, a Leninist Bolshevik Party. "As a current of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism has existed since 1903," Lenin wrote.

The Bolshevik Party represented a powerful force capable of rallying the working class and all the working people of Russia for the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists and for the building of socialism. The Bolshevik Party, organised by Lenin and his supporters, became a model for all communist and workers' parties.

The success of Lenin's plan for creating a revolutionary Marxist party showed that in Lenin the Russian and international proletariat had an outstanding theoretician, who carried on the work and teaching of Marx and Engels and was endowed with a clear insight into the prospects of developing the working-class movement.

After the Second Congress the situation within the Party became more complicated. The Mensheviks now took the place of the defeated Economists and continued their opportunist line. There began a fierce and stubborn struggle between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks which was to last for many years. The Mensheviks were out to divert the Party on to the path of opportunism. They seized control of the Party's Central Organ, *Iskra*, and launched attacks in its columns against Lenin, the Bolsheviks and the decisions of the Second Congress. It was necessary to give a decisive battle to the Mensheviks, to show the danger of

Menshevism for the Party and for the revolutionary movement in Russia. This Lenin did in his book, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, which appeared in May 1904.

Lenin showed that the Mensheviks were opposed to the Party being the organising force in the working-class movement and were destroying it. He elaborated the Marxist theory of the Party as the guiding body of the proletariat, without which it was impossible to win the socialist revolution and build a communist society. "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation," he emphasised. He taught that the Party was an integral part of the working class, its class-conscious vanguard. The Party could successfully lead the struggle of the proletariat only if all its members were united in a single body, cemented by a common will, a common line of action and a common discipline, and armed with the revolutionary theory.

Lenin made it clear that the Party's constant concern was to expand and consolidate its ties with the working-class masses. Without these ties it could not live and develop.

In this book Lenin formulated firm standards of Party life and the principles of Party leadership, which became law for all subsequent activities of the Party. They envisaged strict observance of the Party Rules, one discipline for all, subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower organisations to the higher, electivity of Party bodies and their obligation to report up, the development of activity and initiative among the

rank and file and the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism. Lenin's book met with the warm approval of the Party organisations and was widely circulated among the advanced workers.

In the summer of 1904 Lenin and the other Bolsheviks started campaigning for the convocation of the Third Congress of the Party. The situation in Russia made this an urgent necessity—the revolution was coming to a head. Another reason for calling the congress was the situation within the Party. A stop had to be put to the splitting activities of the Mensheviks who were side-tracking the decisions of the Second Congress and disrupting Party work.

During the crucial period of the inner-Party struggle most of the Party committees in Russia aligned themselves with the Bolsheviks. Most of the professional revolutionaries and Party members from among the workers gave Lenin their whole-hearted support. The vast majority of the Party rallied to their leader.

Lenin's practical and theoretical activity, his uncompromising struggle against opportunism and revisionism for the creation of a proletarian party of a new type, and his creative application and development of the teaching of Marx and Engels in conditions of the new epoch—all this made the beginning of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism, and in the Russian and international working-class movement.

Leninism became the Marxism of the modern epoch.

The First Onslaught Against Tsarism

While abroad Lenin closely followed the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Long before the revolution broke out he saw it coming. At last the storm burst. On January 9, 1905, the troops, acting on the tsar's orders, shot down a peaceful procession of workers in St. Petersburg, who, with their wives and children, were on their way to present him with a petition about their needs. This brutal massacre shocked the nation and aroused the people's wrath. By the evening barricades were being built in the workers' districts of the capital. The events in St. Petersburg set the whole country astir. Lenin saw them as the beginning of the revolution. "The slogan of the heroic St. Petersburg proletariat, 'Death or Freedom!' is reverberating throughout Russia," he wrote.

All Lenin's thoughts were centred on Russia. He took over direct guidance of the Party committees, sent them letters, gave them detailed instructions on how to carry on in the new revolutionary situation. "I often had occasion to travel abroad illegally," recalls M. N. Lyadov, a member of the Majority Committees Bureau. "You'd come for a week or so, give Ilyich all news, load up with his instructions and advice, and go back to search out comrades of the Majority Committees Bureau. And every time it would strike you with surprise how accurately Ilyich, sitting there

in Geneva, was able to size up the state of affairs. . . ."

Lenin foresaw that the revolution was bound to grow. This laid a great responsibility on the Social-Democratic Labour Party. It had to define its line of conduct in the revolution and agree on the forms and methods of struggle, that is to say, determine its tactics. This could only be decided by a congress of the Party. That is why Lenin was so insistent in demanding the immediate convocation of a Party congress, for which he started making energetic preparations.

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held in London in April 1905. It was the first Bolshevik Congress. The Mensheviks refused to attend it, although they had been invited, and held their own conference in Geneva. This was a patently splitting move. Two congresses, two parties—was how Lenin described the situation in the R.S.D.L.P. at the time.

The congress examined all the cardinal issues of the growing revolution. Lenin was elected to the chair and directed the work of the congress. He delivered a number of reports and speeches and drafted the main resolutions: on the armed uprising, on a provisional revolutionary government and on the attitude to the peasant movement. Recognising the principal and urgent task of the Party to be the organisation of an armed uprising, the congress instructed all the Party organisations to take concrete steps towards arming the proletariat and working out the plan of an armed uprising under their direct leadership.

Recalling Lenin's speech on the participation of the Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government, M. G. Tskhakaya, a delegate to the congress, wrote:

"The entire congress listened standing, in tense silence. The iron logic of the theoretician, tribune and organiser of the revolution held all the delegates spellbound. When Ilyich finished speaking there was no end to the applause and ovation. Before us stood a great revolutionary, theoretician and tribune."

The congress endorsed Clause I of the Party Rules, that on Party membership, as formulated by Lenin. Since then one of Lenin's most important organisational principles has become a permanent feature of the Party Rules. The congress elected a Central Committee with Lenin at its head.

The congress decisions armed the Party with a concrete plan of action, defined the ways and means of the revolution's further development and set before the working class the aim of resolutely fighting against the autocracy. At the very first plenary meeting of the Central Committee Lenin was appointed editor of the Party's Central Organ, the newspaper *Proletary* (The Proletarian).

After the congress Lenin returned to Geneva. The significance of the congress and its decisions was dealt with by Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which appeared in July 1905. In this brilliant work Lenin highlighted all the issues of the

revolution, which had already started, and defined the Party's tasks. He showed that the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks held different views on the revolution and its motive forces, and also on the tasks of the working class and the Party and devised different tactics.

With Lenin, the Bolsheviks considered the revolution that had begun in Russia to be a bourgeois-democratic revolution, its aim being to put an end to the survivals of serfdom, to overthrow tsarism and to win democratic liberties. For the first time in the history of Marxism Lenin elaborated the question of the distinctive features of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism, of its motive forces and prospects. He considered that the proletariat was concerned in the complete victory of the bourgeois revolution, since this would speed up and facilitate the proletariat's struggle for socialism. Moreover, it was the proletariat who was to be the chief motive force and leader of the revolution. The proletariat's ally was to be the peasantry, who were concerned in taking the land away from the landowners and overthrowing tsarism. The scope of the revolution therefore depended upon its main motive forces—the proletariat and the peasantry. As for the Russian bourgeoisie, it stood for retaining tsarism because it feared most of all the proletariat, which came out with its own political demands. That was why the Bolsheviks held that the bourgeoisie should be pushed back and isolated from the masses, and its sham democratism exposed.

The first Russian revolution was a popular revolution as far as its motive forces were concerned, and as for the methods of struggle used in it Lenin described it as a proletarian revolution. It employed such mass forms of struggle as the political strike and the armed uprising.

Lenin made it clear that an armed uprising was the decisive means of overthrowing the tsarist autocracy. A victorious uprising would lead to the establishment of the power not of the bourgeoisie, as had been the case in past revolutions, but of the proletariat and the peasantry, i.e., a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. Its executive body would be a provisional revolutionary government.

The Bolshevik tactics worked out by Lenin were aimed at a victorious revolution and they were indeed truly revolutionary tactics.

But what were the tactics of the Mensheviks? Since the revolution was a bourgeois revolution, they averred, the bourgeoisie should be its leader, and the task of the working class was merely to support the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks were against an alliance of the working class and the peasantry because they did not believe in the peasantry as a revolutionary force. They were strongly opposed to an armed uprising. Lenin showed that the Menshevik line was a betrayal of the revolution, a striving to place proletariat under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, a line that expressed their fear of a possible victory by the people. This fear of the revolutionary struggle on the part of the Mensheviks and their readiness

to drown the revolution in wordy claptrap prompted Lenin to call them "men in mufflers".*

Lenin, in this book, taught that the proletariat would not stop at merely achieving victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in alliance with the whole peasantry. In the course of the struggle it organises its forces, carries the rural and urban poor along with it and strikes at capitalism. Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution develops into a socialist revolution. This was a new course aimed at the victory of the socialist revolution. It rejected the line taken by the Russian Mensheviks and West-European opportunists who underestimated the revolutionary potentialities of the semi-proletarian masses of town and country. The opportunists believed that the proletariat would act on its own without allies in the socialist revolution, and therefore the socialist revolution could not take place until the proletariat had become the majority of the population in the country. Lenin showed this line of reasoning to be fallacious and harmful. He proved that in the course of the revolution the proletariat was bound to be joined by the semi-proletarian masses of town and country. Subsequent events proved him right.

In his book *Two Tactics* Lenin developed the Marxist teaching on the socialist revolution enriching it with new ideas that are of great signif-

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* "The Man in the Muffler"—chief character in Chekhov's story of the same name typifying the narrow-minded philistine who fears all innovations or initiative.—*Ed.*

icance to the people of the whole world in their struggle for the triumph of democracy and socialism. The book was received with approval by the Party organisations in Russia. V. V. Adoratsky, a member of the Kazan organisation, wrote: "We all felt that the interests of the development of the revolution could not have been upheld more correctly, more consistently and with greater talent than was done by Vladimir Ilyich."

The revolutionary movement in Russia was mounting swiftly. In the spring and summer of 1905 big strikes took place in industrial centres such as St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Lodz, Baku and Odessa. The peasant movement spread, involving one-fifth of all the rural districts of Russia. Tsarism's military mainstay—the army—was shaken too. In June 1905 a mutiny broke out on the battleship *Potemkin* of the Black Sea Fleet. Lenin attached tremendous importance to this uprising. To help the mutineers he sent the Bolshevik M. I. Vasilyev-Yuzhin to Odessa with instructions on how to act to ensure victory, but by the time the latter reached Odessa the battleship had been compelled to leave the port and sail to Rumania.

Lenin continued to insist on an armed uprising. He read everything that Marx and Engels had written on the subject and studied a great number of books on military tactics. He sharply criticised the Combat Committee of St. Petersburg, which had been organised to prepare for the uprising, for its tardiness and irresolution, and outlined a concrete plan of action for it. "Go to the youth," he advised. "Form fighting squads *at once* every-

where, among the students, and *especially among the workers*. . . . Let them arm themselves at once as best they can. . . . Detachments must *at once* begin military training by launching operations immediately." At the same time Lenin took energetic steps to arrange the purchase of arms abroad and their delivery to Russia.

In the autumn of 1905 the revolutionary movement in Russia assumed unprecedented scope. A general political strike broke out in October. Factories and mills, and the post and telegraph offices stopped work and life throughout the country came to a standstill. This was a new form of proletarian struggle hitherto unknown in other countries. Scared by the struggle of the working class, the tsarist government was forced to make concessions. On October 17 the tsar issued a manifesto promising inviolability of the person, freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly and other civic liberties. This was an important victory. But Lenin warned against trusting the promises of the tsar. The task of the proletariat, he said, was to press forward with the revolution and prepare the masses for an armed uprising.

These stormy revolutionary days saw the birth of the mass political organisations—the Soviets (or Councils) of Workers' Deputies. No organisation of this kind had ever arisen before in any other country. Lenin thought highly of the Soviets, which he regarded as organs of the armed uprising and the embryo of the people's government. Already at that time he foresaw that the Soviets had a great future before them and that sooner or

later they would become the state power of the working people. Lenin's prophecy came true. A profound analysis of the role of the Soviets was given by Lenin in his article "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies".

The wave of revolution rose steadily. It became increasingly difficult for Lenin to direct the revolutionary movement from abroad. He was all eagerness to return to Russia. Early in November 1905 he arrived in St. Petersburg and there, on the spot, assumed direct leadership of the Party and the revolutionary struggle. He launched vigorous organisational work. He directed the work of the Central Committee and the St. Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks, addressed Party meetings, conferences and gatherings, met Party workers arriving from all over Russia, and wrote many articles for the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) which he edited and managed. His eloquent and profound articles served as guidelines to the Party organisations in their day-to-day work.

Among Lenin's articles published in the newspaper, great significance was attached to his article "Party Organisation and Party Literature", in which he advanced and formulated the principle of commitment in literature. Literature, he showed, should not be a means of enrichment for groups and individuals, a private affair independent of the common cause of the working class. "Literature," he wrote, "must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialised bourgeois

press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, 'aristocratic anarchism' and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of *party literature,* must develop this principle and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible." The experience of history has shown that any deviation from the Leninist principle of partisanship in literature causes tremendous harm to the cause of the working class not only during the period of its struggle for power, but also when it has achieved power.

Notwithstanding the few liberties which the people had succeeded in wresting from the tsar, Lenin and the other revolutionaries were obliged to hide from the police. Lenin had to live illegally, frequently changing his passport and lodgings, and on several occasions leaving St. Petersburg and staying in Finland.

The revolution reached its peak in the December armed uprising in Moscow. For nine days several thousand armed workers waged a heroic battle with the police and tsarist troops sent in from St. Petersburg. Maxim Gorky, who was in Moscow at the time, commented enthusiastically on the workers' gallant fight in one of his letters. "I have just come in from the street," he wrote on December 10. "Fighting is going on at the Sandunov Baths, at Nikolayevsky Station, Smolensky Market, in Kudrinskaya. Real hot fighting! Guns are thundering—it started yesterday at 2 in the afternoon, continued through the night and has been rumbling all day without a stop. . . . A great success! In the streets everywhere the gen-

darmerie and the police are being disarmed. . . . The workers are behaving magnificently!"

The fighting was particularly heavy in the Presnya District (now called Krasnaya [Red] Presnya). After Moscow, revolts flared up in Nizhni-Novgorod, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiisk, Ekaterinoslav, Ufa, Krasnoyarsk, Chita and other cities. All these sporadic uprisings, however, were brutally suppressed by the tsarist government.

Lenin highly appraised the December armed uprising, which he regarded as an unforgettable deed of heroism on the part of the Russian workers, one that served as a school of revolution for new generation of fighters. He regarded it as an experience of enormous value for all proletarian revolutions. While noting the positive aspects of the uprising, Lenin also laid bare the shortcomings in its organisation. He pointed out that arms should have been taken up more resolutely, that offensive and not defensive action should have been waged, that the troops should have been won over and the peasants drawn into the common struggle. Such were the lessons of the uprising. Lenin urged all class-conscious workers to study these lessons and prepare for further struggle.

Although the December uprising had failed, it was some time before the tide of revolution ebbed. The masses did not want to retreat. The strikers, peasant disturbances and revolutionary unrest in the army and navy continued unabated. Lenin was in direct touch with the leaders of the insurrections of the sailors and soldiers in Sveaborg and Kronstadt in the summer of 1906. He

gave instructions to the Bolshevik members of the St. Petersburg Party Committee for organising a strike in support of Kronstadt. But both insurrections were crushed.

The experience of the Russian proletariat's struggle in October-December 1905 was summed up by Lenin in his pamphlet *The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party* written in March 1906. He regarded the October-December battles as a memorable step in the historical struggle of the working class, where the tactic of combining the mass political strike with the uprising was employed for the first time. In this pamphlet Lenin exposed the behaviour of the Cadet* Party, showed their duplicity and cowardice, their policy of compromise with tsarism, and called the Cadets "the grave worms of the revolution".

In order to wage a more successful fight for the triumph of the revolution, many Party members from among the workers demanded unity within the Party. To settle this question another congress had to be called.

Lenin, with the Bolsheviks, supported this demand. But how was unity to be achieved? On what basis? He considered that unity with the Mensheviks was possible only on the basis of revolutionary Marxism. He came out strongly against any glossing over of fundamental dis-

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* *Cadets* (abbreviated)—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. Founded in 1905.—*Ed.*

agreements on basic issues of the revolution. He worked hard to prepare for the Fourth Congress of the Party at which this unity was to be achieved. He drew up the platform of the Bolsheviks—a draft of the basic resolutions. In order to work out an agrarian programme for the congress, Lenin wrote a pamphlet entitled *Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party.*

There were other reasons that made a unity congress imperative. In Russia, in addition to the R.S.D.L.P., there were other Social-Democratic parties, including the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania and the Lettish Social-Democratic Labour Party. Each of these parties acted on its own. The interests of the struggle against tsarism demanded the joint effort of all the nationalities of Russia, the unity of all the workers in the country.

At the beginning of April 1906 Lenin left for Stockholm to attend the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. The congress opened on April 10 in the People's House, which the Swedish Social-Democrats had placed at its disposal.

Lenin delivered reports on the agrarian question and on "The Current Situation and the Class Tasks of the Proletariat", a co-report on the question of what attitude to take towards the State Duma and speeches on the armed uprising and on the question of organisation. He also took part in the work of the committee elected to draft the Rules of the R.S.D.L.P.

The congress became the scene of an extremely sharp struggle between the Bolsheviks and the

Mensheviks, particularly on the agrarian question. The Bolsheviks, with Lenin, stood for the confiscation of the landed estates and the nationalisation of all land, i.e., the abolition of private ownership of land, which was henceforth to be the property of the state. Nationalisation of the land was possible only if the autocracy was overthrown. Consequently, the Bolshevik agrarian programme called upon the peasants to rise against the tsar and the landowners.

And what was the Mensheviks' stand? They objected to the nationalisation of the land and demanded its municipalisation, that is, the transfer of the landed estates to the municipalities, from whom the peasants would have to rent land. Lenin sharply criticised the Menshevik programme, which meant a bargain with the landowners and raised vain hopes that the agrarian question could be settled without the overthrow of the rule of the tsar and the landowners.

Taking advantage of their numerical preponderance at the congress, the Mensheviks put through their own resolutions on all major issues, including their municipalisation programme. The Mensheviks secured a majority in the Central Committee and seized control of the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*. The Menshevik victory, however, could not be a lasting one. Lenin firmly believed in the triumph of revolutionary Marxism, revolutionary strategy and tactics. He was confident that the Mensheviks would be defeated.

The congress had adopted a decision to amal-

gamate the Social-Democratic parties of Russia into a united Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. This unification enabled the Bolsheviks to influence broad sections of the workers of all the nationalities inhabiting Russia and made it easier to expose and isolate the Mensheviks.

Immediately after the congress Lenin resumed intense activity. Lenin informed the broad masses of the workers of the struggle that took place at the congress. He wrote an appeal to the Party by Bolshevik delegates to the congress, and a pamphlet entitled *Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (A Letter to the St. Petersburg Workers).*

Lenin continued indefatigably to defend and explain the correctness of the Bolshevik line, and missed no opportunity of meeting workers, intellectuals, office employees and students in order to have talks with them. On May 9, 1906, under the name of Karpov, he addressed a meeting of three thousand people in St. Petersburg at which he denounced the deal which the bourgeois Cadet Party had made with the autocracy and defended the revolutionary line of the proletariat. The audience was deeply stirred by his speech to which it listened with rapt attention. Krupskaya, in her reminiscences, writes: "A hush descended upon the hall. A wave of extraordinary enthusiasm swept the audience after Ilyich's speech. At that moment everyone was thinking of the coming fight to the finish." Lenin was always keen on addressing the workers, giving them advice and clarifying for them all problems pertaining to the

revolutionary struggle. He addressed meetings of Social-Democratic workers in the Narva District, of women workers of the Shapshala Tobacco Factory, the workers of the Semyannikov District and many other workers' gatherings.

After a hard struggle Lenin succeeded in rallying the Party organisations around the Bolsheviks. He now raised the question of convening another Party congress and began actively to prepare for it. In February 1907 he wrote the draft resolutions for the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. In March he made a report on the current situation and the tasks of the Party at a briefing conference of Bolsheviks leaving for the localities to conduct elections of delegates to the congress.

Towards the end of April 1907 Lenin left for London to attend the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. He directed the work of the congress and delivered a report on the main point on the agenda—the attitude to bourgeois parties. The reminiscences of Maxim Gorky, the great proletarian writer, who was present at the congress, give a vivid picture of Lenin as a speaker. Gorky says that Lenin "was no coiner of fine phrases, but presented each word on the palm of his hand, as it were, disclosing its precise meaning with astonishing ease. . . . He spoke less than those before him, but the impression he created was far greater. I was not the only one to feel this, for behind me I heard a delighted whisper: 'That's neatly put!' And so it was, for his every argument unfolded itself by its own internal force."

At the congress Lenin was supported by a close-knit group of Bolshevik delegates, including A. S. Bubnov, I. F. Dubrovinsky, M. N. Lyadov, M. G. Tskhakaya, S. G. Shahumyan, K. Y. Voroshilov, and Y. M. Yaroslavsky.

The congress adopted Lenin's resolution on the attitude to the bourgeois parties. This question had a direct bearing on the assessment of the revolution in Russia. Parties expressed the interests of definite classes. In order to fulfil the role of leader of the democratic revolution, the working class had to know the class nature of the political parties. Lenin's resolution demanded an unremitting struggle against the Black-Hundred parties* and the parties of the big landowners and bourgeoisie, and an exposure of the false democratism of the Constitutional-Democrats, the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, in order to prevent it from deceiving the peasants and gaining their support. Lenin took a different view of the Trudoviks (the name given in the Duma to the deputies elected by the peasants). Insofar as they expressed the interests of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, Lenin envisaged the possibility of coming to an agreement with them in the struggle against tsarism.

The Fifth Congress confirmed the correctness of the Bolshevik line in the revolution. The Bolshe-

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* *Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs organised by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement. They assassinated revolutionaries, attacked progressive intellectuals and perpetrated anti-Jewish pogroms.—*Ed.*

viks, at this congress, defeated the Mensheviks on a number of other issues too. The Mensheviks suffered a defeat on the question of convening a so-called labour congress which was to found a broad labour party consisting of Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries,* anarchists, etc. This Menshevik idea was rejected by the congress as being harmful to the working-class movement and in effect implying the liquidation of the genuine proletarian party.

Lenin had warm and cordial talks with the workers' delegates at, the congress. Maxim Gorky, in his reminiscences, tells of a conversation between workers who had seen Lenin for the first time. One of them said:

"'He is one of us!'

"'So is Plekhanov!' another added.

"'Plekhanov is the teacher, our master, but Lenin is the comrade and leader,' came the answer."

The Fifth Congress elected Lenin to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

At the beginning of June 1907 Lenin returned from London to Russia and took up his residence in Finland. By then it was clear that the revolution had failed. The tsarist government launched an all-out assault. A long period of dark reaction set in.

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* *Socialist-Revolutionaries*—members of a petty-bourgeois party of that name in Russia, which came into being at the end of 1901 and beginning of 1902 as a result of the amalgamation of various Narodnik groups and circles.—*Ed.*

The Special Department of the St. Petersburg Gubernia Gendarmerie called upon the chief of the St. Petersburg secret police for reports on Lenin and asked him to "initiate proceedings for his extradition from Finland". With tsarist spies on his trail, Lenin was obliged to move to the interior of Finland. But even there he was in danger and the Bolshevik centre resolved that he must leave the country.

Getting out of Finland, however, was no easy job. To shake off the spies and avoid arrest Lenin was compelled to board a steamer, not in a port, but on one of the islands. To reach it he had to cross the still thin ice in the Gulf of Finland at night. Lenin was nearly drowned when the ice cracked and began to give way under him. Recollecting this experience at a later date Lenin said that the thought that crossed his mind at the moment was: "What a stupid way to die!" Thus, at a great risk to his life, he finally succeeded in making his way abroad. This time he spent nearly ten years there in enforced exile.

The first Russian revolution, which lasted nearly two and a half years, failed. But it made a breach in Russia's autocratic regime. The revolution ushered in a period of revolutionary struggles in the epoch of imperialism and exercised a tremendous influence on the development of the liberation movement throughout the world. It demonstrated that the centre of the world's revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia and that the Russian proletariat had become the vanguard of the international proletariat. An apprais-

al of the revolution of 1905-07 was given by Lenin in his articles "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising", "The Lessons of the Revolution", "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution" and others.

The revolution fully bore out the correctness of Lenin's Bolshevik tactic. Lenin's important thesis concerning the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution has been fully confirmed in practice.

It was during these years of revolution that Lenin's gifts as a leader, a great theoretician and outstanding organiser of the working masses were most strikingly displayed.

The Struggle for the Party During the Years of Reaction

In January 1908 Lenin returned to Geneva. It was hard to leave revolutionary Russia for this quiet town.

All Lenin's thoughts were linked with the Russian revolution. The failure of the revolution had not broken his will for struggle. He devoted himself with redoubled energy to Party work and to preparations for another revolution. He was firmly convinced that in the first Russian revolution the proletariat had suffered only a temporary setback and that victory over the autocracy was inevitable. His impassioned words addressed to the Party struck a powerful note: "We knew how to work during the long years preceding the revolution. Not for nothing do they say we are as

hard as a rock. The Social-Democrats have built a proletarian party which will not be disheartened by the failure of the first armed onslaught, will not lose its head, nor be carried away by adventures.... And this proletarian party is marching to victory."

During the darkest period of reaction, when there did not seem to be a glimmer of hope, Lenin's thoughts were of the future victory of the proletariat. He foresaw this victory and his passionate belief in it inspired confidence in others.

In Russia the tsarist government wreaked its vengeance on the people for their revolutionary struggle. Tens of thousands of revolutionaries were sentenced to hard labour and thousands more were executed. The workers' organisations were smashed up by the police. The situation in the Party became extremely grave. Its membership dropped and contact between the various organisations weakened. The Party was forced to go deep underground. The government planted agent-provocateurs in the Party organisations, and on their information rounded up leading Party workers and wrecked whole organisations. A period of betrayals, back-sliding and disbelief in a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement set in among the fellow-travellers of the revolution, especially among the intellectuals. But rampant though the black reaction was, it was powerless to crush all the progressive forces which came into play during the revolution. As before, the proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, stood at the head of these progressive forces.

On his arrival in Geneva, Lenin lost no time in resuming publication of the newspaper *Proletary*. In those years the newspaper was, in effect, the Central Organ of the Bolsheviks. Lenin enlisted Maxim Gorky, Anatoly Lunacharsky and other prominent publicists as contributors. The organisation of the newspaper made great demands on Lenin's time and energy. In addition to the publication side of the business he arranged for the paper's delivery to Russia. The first issue of the revived *Proletary* appeared at the end of February 1908. During this period of harsh reaction Lenin saw in the Party paper an important means of rallying and educating the Bolshevik cadres, a means of gearing the Party and the working class to a new upswing of the revolution.

The question now arose, how was the Party to function in such a difficult situation, how was the revolutionary Party to be preserved and its links with the masses strengthened and what forms of struggle were to be employed?

The Bolsheviks, with Lenin, considered that it was necessary to strengthen the illegal Party organisations and, at the same time, utilise the legal organisations of the workers. Lenin taught the Party to be flexible in questions of tactics, to be able to retreat, whenever necessary, in full order, preserving its ranks. This was as important as being able to advance. He taught Party members to be prepared to carry on unspectacular, routine work for the sake of the revolution, to make use of every opportunity to come out openly in the

Duma (the phoney parliament set up by the tsarist government at the time of the first Russian revolution), and to work in the trade unions, the insurance and co-operative societies and workers' clubs. Lenin thus taught the Bolsheviks to skilfully combine illegal and legal work. These flexible unerring tactics of Lenin's helped the Party, in the difficult situation prevailing at the time, to strengthen its ties with the masses and prepare them for another revolution.

Lenin's fight to preserve and strengthen the Party met with a hostile attitude on the part of his numerous opponents. After the defeat of the revolution the Mensheviks had retreated in panic. They shamelessly renounced the programme and revolutionary slogans of the Party, sought to liquidate its illegal organisations and cease all underground revolutionary activities. This earned them the name of liquidators. The Menshevik-liquidators did not believe in another revolution in Russia, and urged the working class to make a deal with the bourgeoisie and accept the reactionary set-up. They hoped in this way to obtain permission for the workers' party to exist openly. But as no revolutionary party of the proletariat could carry on legally in Russia, this meant that the Mensheviks were out deliberately to create an opportunist, non-revolutionary party. This was a very dangerous tactic. Lenin tirelessly exposed the liquidators as enemies of the Party who had to be fought relentlessly. He wrote at this time that the question was "whether our old, illegal Party was to be or not to be".

Some unstable Bolsheviks, too, displayed dangerous vacillations. Under cover of revolutionary phraseology, they tried to draw the Party away from work in the legal workers' organisations and proposed that the Social-Democratic deputies be recalled from the Duma. Hence their name—otzovists (recallers). Lenin came out strongly against these harmful views. He made it clear that the abandonment of legal forms of work would lead to the Party becoming isolated from the masses and turn it into a self-contained organisation incapable of mustering strength for another revolutionary upsurge. That would be disastrous for the Party and would virtually mean the Party's liquidation. That is why Lenin described the otzovists as liquidators turned inside out. He showed that the liquidators and otzovists were not real revolutionaries, but merely petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers of the proletariat and that none of them believed in the revolution, in the victory of the working class. He considered that the party of the proletariat had to rid itself of opportunists.

At the end of 1908 publication of *Proletary* was transferred to Paris, then the centre of the Russian emigrant colonies. Lenin and Krupskaya moved there too. (The apartment in the house at No. 4 rue Marie-Rose in which they lived is now a Lenin Museum.)

Life in Paris was hard for Lenin and his family. Living in the suburbs where rooms were cheaper, he had to make long bicycle rides to the Bibliothèque Nationale to obtain the newspapers,

journals and books which he needed for his work. This took up a lot of his time.

There was a large colony of Russian emigrants in Paris who belonged to different political trends. Their life was hectic, and, now and then, quarrelsome. All this irritated Lenin and affected his work. He sought occasional relaxation out of town. Sometimes he managed to get away to the seaside.

Lenin took an active part in the work of the Bolshevik group in Paris, frequently lecturing on the political situation in Russia, the Paris Commune* and on other subjects. He made a close study of the life of the French workers, attended workers' meetings and went to the theatre in workers' neighbourhoods where one could see plays on revolutionary themes that were banned from theatres in the centre of the city.

During the dark years of reaction Lenin preserved his zest for life, his innate cheerfulness and friendliness. Swamped though he was with work, Lenin found time to go and see a new play, visit a museum, play a game of chess with a friend, and reread the works of his favourite authors. In talks with writers who had arrived from Russia, he showed a lively interest in the sentiments of the youth and asked what kind of literature was most popular among them. As before in Geneva,

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* *Paris Commune 1871*—the first experiment ever made to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. The government formed by the proletarian revolution in Paris lasted from March 18th to May 28th, 1871.—*Ed.*

Party comrades liked to visit his home, to which they were drawn by the atmosphere of friendship and mutual affection, of sympathy and consideration for others.

"The great majority of emigrants were very hard up," N. A. Semashko wrote in his memoirs. "You went to bed not knowing what you would eat tomorrow. We had a mutual benefit fund. Vladimir Ilyich helped it out in every way he could. He would often be asked to read a lecture the proceeds from which were used to assist needy comrades. Tired out though he was by superhuman work—editing the newspaper and writing articles for it, addressing meetings and corresponding with Russia—Vladimir Ilyich never refused to deliver exhaustive and detailed reports to large audiences. If he noticed a comrade in hard straits he immediately hastened to his aid, found a job for him—that is what happened to me on more than one occasion."

Shortly after Lenin's arrival in Paris the Fifth All-Russia Party Conference was held there, at which the biggest Party organisations were represented by Bolsheviks. The keynote of this conference was the struggle against liquidationism and otzovism. Lenin delivered the main report. The resolutions on this report served as the Party's guidelines during the years of reaction. On Lenin's motion the conference condemned the liquidators, and urged the Party organisations to wage a determined fight against them.

This conference was a turning-point in the development of the workers' movement in Rus-

sia after the defeat of the revolution, and a signal victory for the Bolsheviks. ". . .Social-Democracy," as Lenin noted in his article "On the Road", "which has proved in open revolution that it is the party of the class, the party that succeeded in leading millions in strikes, in the uprising of 1905, as well as in the elections of 1906-07, will now also be able to remain the party of the class, the party of the masses, the vanguard, which in the hardest times will not lose touch with the bulk of the army, but will be able to help the latter overcome these hard times, consolidate its ranks once more and train more and more new fighters."

Lenin maintained that the Party's practical activity must be closely linked with the struggle for the ideological purity of its principles, for fidelity to the teaching of Marx and Engels. He vehemently resisted all attempts to revise the philosophical tenets of Marxism, all attempts to represent socialism as a new kind of religion. This revision had been attempted by some Social-Democrats, including individual, ideologically unstable Bolsheviks. This was a new sortie on the part of the revisionists, this time into the realm of Marxist philosophy.

The spread of revisionist views on questions of philosophy was a great danger to the Party and the working class. It led to reconciliation with reactionary bourgeois ideology and religion, and was injurious to the cause of the revolutionary struggle. It was necessary to give a strong rebuff to the revisionists. Lenin undertook this task. He

had always given considerable attention to the propaganda and development of Marxist philosophy. During the years of reaction, when the need to defend Marxist philosophy was at its acutest, Lenin wrote his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy* (written in February-October 1908 and published in May 1909 under the pseudonym of Vl. Ilyin). This book was the result of a vast amount of research carried out by Lenin. He studied hundreds of books and articles by various authors on philosophy, natural science and physics in German, French, English and Russian, reread the philosophical works of Marx and Engels, as well as the works of Plekhanov, Mehring, Feuerbach and other philosophers. In May 1908 Lenin left Geneva for London, where he spent nearly a month working in the library of the British Museum. From Lenin's correspondence with his relatives we know how difficult it was to get the book published legally in Russia. With the assistance of I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov arrangements were made for its publication by the Zveno Publishers in Moscow. Lenin begged his sister Anna to speed up publication of the book. He was in a hurry to get it out, as there was to be a meeting of the enlarged editorial board of *Proletary* (virtually the Bolshevik Centre) at which the question of the attitude towards otzovism was to be discussed. At the end of May 1909 he wrote to his sister Anna: "I have received the book and find that it has been nicely published. On the whole I am satisfied with it."

In this work Lenin exposed the opponents of Marxist philosophy. He showed that a close connection existed between philosophy and politics, that Marxism was an inseparable unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice. He tore to shreds the reactionary views of the bourgeois philosophers (Mach and Avenarius) and of certain Social-Democrats who had broken with the philosophy of Marxism. These Social-Democrats (A. A. Bogdanov and others), who had departed from Marxism in the field of philosophy, took a wrong stand also politically. Lenin's book played an outstanding role in upholding and elaborating Marxist philosophy, and in the theoretical education of Party cadres. To this day it is a sharp ideological weapon of the Party in the struggle against modern bourgeois idealist philosophy, against revisionists of all shades and colours.

In Russia, Lenin's struggle against the otzovists was suported by V. V. Vorovsky, I. A. Teodorovich, Y. E. Rudzutak, N. A. Skrypnik and many Bolshevik workers. According to the testimony contained in numerous reminiscences, Lenin's book created a tremendous impression upon everybody. Outside Russia, Lenin's line during the philosophical controversy was actively supported by I. F. Dubrovinsky, a member of the editorial board of *Proletary*. At a dispute in Geneva held in May 1908 he made a speech against the idealist views of Bogdanov. The theses for his speech were drafted by Lenin.

In his fight for the Party, for its ideological

purity and for a genuinely Marxist policy Lenin was implacable. He did not tolerate ideological confusion and evasion of frank and open controversy: this he considered especially harmful for the Party, whose interests he placed above all else. No past services could save those who departed from Marxism and the revolutionary line of the workers' party from Lenin's severe criticism. In his letter to Maxim Gorky in March 1908 Lenin wrote: "You must understand—and you will, of course—that once a Party man has become convinced that a certain doctrine is grossly fallacious and *harmful*, he is obliged to come out aginst it."

In April 1908 Lenin went to Capri to meet Gorky, at the latter's request. On his arrival Lenin asked Gorky not to make any attempt to reconcile him with Bogdanov and his followers, who were on Capri. Lenin had long talks with Gorky on Russia. He listened with great attention to Gorky's stories about his childhood and youth, and his wanderings, and advised him to write about it. Subsequently Gorky described his life in his novels *Childhood, My Apprenticeship* and *My Universities*. His talks with Lenin exercised a great influence on Gorky and helped him to rid himself of erroneous views. "His attitude towards me," Gorky wrote, "was that of a strict teacher and a kind solicitous friend."

At a conference of the enlarged editorial board of *Proletary* in June 1909 Lenin came out strongly against the otzovists. He showed what harm they were causing the working-class movement

and the unity of the Party. The conference emphasised that the Bolshevik Party had nothing in common with otzovism and urged Party members to combat it vigorously. The conference also took note of the fact that in a number of Party organisations the Menshevik workers had come out against the liquidators in defence of the illegal Party. Plekhanov, too, had criticised the liquidators. Without obscuring the fundamental differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, the conference went on record for an alignment with this section of the membership, who came to be known as pro-Party Mensheviks. Lenin proposed a plan for rallying all the Party forces on a principled platform of struggle for the illegal Party.

Lenin carried on an uncompromising struggle not only against overt opportunists like the liquidators but also against those who covered up their opportunism with revolutionary phrase-mongering. In the course of this struggle the Bolshevik Party strengthened its ranks and upheld its revolutionary policy and tactics. Later, in his book *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin wrote that the Bolsheviks were able to make an orderly retreat and preserve their ranks after the defeat of the revolution because "they ruthlessly exposed and expelled the revolutionary phrase-mongers".

The Party rid itself of people who indulged in high-sounding "revolutionary" phrases but were unable and unwilling to do the everyday chores.

The Bolsheviks' fight for a strong revolutionary

party was hampered by Trotsky. While hypocritically declaring that his aim was to achieve peace within the Party, Trotsky took up the case of the liquidators and built up an anti-Leninist bloc of anti-Party groups and trends. Lenin exposed Trotsky as a hypocrite, careerist, slanderer and double-dealer. It was in those years that he branded him as "Iudushka"*.

Lenin believed it to be one of the cardinal duties of the Party at that period to analyse the lessons of the first Russian revolution and propagate them among the working class and the masses at large. He urged that a careful study be made of the rich experience of the mass struggle, and he educated the workers in the spirit of the militant revolutionary tradition.

The chief result of the revolution, as Lenin saw it, was that the proletariat had won the role of leader in the democratic revolution, and that the oppressed classes had learned to wage a mass revolutionary struggle. He explained how tremendously important it was to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. He emphasised the grandeur of the Russian proletariat's achievement: ". . .by the heroic struggle it waged during the course of three years (1905-1907)," he wrote, "the Russian proletariat won for itself and for the Russian people gains that took other nations decades to win." Lenin

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* *Iudushka (little Judas)* is the central character in M. Saltykov-Shchedrin's novel *The Golovlyovs*, and the word has become a synonym of hypocrite.—*Ed.*

published articles and made public speeches at meetings in Geneva, Paris and other cities on the character of the Russian revolution and the lessons it taught. He showed the tremendous international significance of the first Russian revolution, which had paved the way for a further upswing of the revolutionary movement in Europe and acted as a powerful spur to the development of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia. Later Lenin stressed the fact that "without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905, the revolution of 1917—both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October Revolution would have been impossible".

Lenin devoted much time during the period of reaction to a study of the agrarian question, i. e., the question of land relationships in Russia. He held that the land should be taken away from the landowners and capitalists and turned over to the state after the overthrow of tsarism, to be used by the peasants free of charge. Among the writings he penned at this period was the book *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution 1905-07*.

Lenin headed the fight against opportunism in the international labour movement, and did much to organise and consolidate the revolutionary forces. He took an active part in the congresses of the Second International—an international association of socialist parties—and wrote articles and read lectures on the international labour movement.

In the autumn of 1910 Lenin went to Stockholm to meet his mother whom he had not seen for three years. She undertook this journey at the age of seventy-five in order to see her son. Lenin was, as always, touchingly solicitous and affectionate. In Stockholm Maria Ulyanova for the first time heard her son address a meeting of the Bolshevik group. On the day of her departure Lenin saw her off to the quay, but he could not go aboard since the steamer belonged to a Russian company and he ran the risk of being arrested. "This was the last time he was to see his mother," wrote Krupskaya. "He had a premonition of it, and it was with sad eyes that he watched the departing steamer. When he returned to Russia seven years later, in 1917, she was already dead." (Lenin's mother died in 1916.)

At the end of September Lenin returned to Paris.

It was to his supreme credit that in this extremely difficult period for the Party and the working class, the period of dark tsarist reaction, he charted the correct path along which they must advance. Following Lenin's guidance, the Bolsheviks strengthened the Party, rallied the working class for a new onslaught against the autocracy, and became more and more strengthened in the conviction that another revolution in Russia was inevitable and that it would lead to victory for the working people.

The New Upsurge of the Revolutionary Movement

Lenin's prediction that a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Russia was inevitable was soon confirmed. No amount of persecution or repressions could check the irresistible growth of the revolutionary struggle. The year 1910 saw a revival of the workers' movement in Russia. In the summer and autumn of that year strikes, demonstrations, meetings and other political actions took place at the factories and mills of St. Petersburg, Moscow and other big cities. The revolutionary movement continued to gain momentum during the following years. The peasantry, the army and the navy became involved in the struggle. The Bolshevik Party headed the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Lenin set before the Bolsheviks the task of reviving the legal Marxist press in Russia, which had been crushed during the years of reaction. In December 1910, coping with tremendous difficulties, the Bolsheviks organised publication of the weekly *Zvezda* (Star) in St. Petersburg and the journal *Mysl* (Thought) in Moscow. Over fifty articles and items of Lenin's were published in *Zvezda* and *Mysl*. Under his guidance *Zvezda* became a militant Marxist newspaper.

It was with great joy that Lenin noted the growth of new Party cadres from among the workers, to whose political training he devoted great care. In the spring of 1911 he organised a Party school at Longjumeau, near Paris, for

workers belonging to leading underground Party organisations. Krupskaya recalls how warmly Lenin welcomed the first group of workers who came to Paris from St. Petersburg and how he spent a whole evening chatting with them.

The school was attended by eighteen workers who had arrived from St. Petersburg, Moscow, Sormovo, Ekaterinoslav, Nikolayev, the Dabrowa District (Poland), Baku, Tiflis and other cities. Lenin delivered 29 lectures on political economy, 12 on the agrarian question, and 12 on the theory and practice of socialism in Russia. At the students' request Lenin read several lectures on the materialist interpretation of history and a report on the current situation and the state of affairs within the Party. His lectures were distinguished for their simplicity and lucidity. He expounded the most complex questions of political economy and philosophy in simple terms comprehensible to his worker audience. His lessons often took the form of lively discussions in which everyone took part. A lot of ground was covered.

Lenin was pleased with the work of the school at Longjumeau which was the precursor of the Bolshevik Party schools and communist universities of the future. At the house where Lenin lived in Longjumeau, the French Communists have put up a memorial plaque with the inscription: "Here, in 1911, lived V. I. Lenin, theoretician and leader of the international communist movement, founder of the Soviet Union."

At the end of 1911 Lenin, on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P., made a speech in Paris at the funer-

al of Paul Lafargue and his wife Laura, the daughter of Karl Marx. Lenin spoke in French. In his brief but admirable speech he paid tribute to the services rendered by Lafargue, whom he described as one of the most talented propagandists of the ideas of Marxism. United under the banner of these ideas, Lenin said, the vanguard of the Russian workers waged an organised mass struggle and dealt a blow to absolutism. In doing so it was upholding the cause of socialism, the cause of the revolution, the cause of democracy despite the treachery, vacillation and irresolution of the liberal bourgeoisie. The Russian revolution, Lenin went on to say, "ushered in an era of democratic revolutions throughout Asia, and 800 million people are now joining in the democratic movement of the whole of the civilised world". Lenin concluded his speech by expressing the conviction that "an era of revolutionary battles by a proletariat that has been organised and educated in the spirit of Marxist ideas, and that will overthrow bourgeois rule and establish a communist system", was approaching.

With the revival of the working-class movement in Russia and the sharpening of the fight against the liquidators, the need for strengthening the Party organisations and improving their work became more strongly felt than ever. The question arose of urgently convening a Party conference, and the Bolsheviks, with Lenin, took steps to prepare it. Several students of the Party school, including the prominent Bolshevik G. K. Orjonikidze and other leading Party work-

ers, were sent to Russia to make arrangements for the conference. A Russian Organising Commission was set up to prepare for the conference. Lenin attached great political importance to the work of this commission. For the first time, after four years of disarray and confusion, he wrote, a Russian Party centre had met. "The banner has been raised, workers' study circles all over Russia are being drawn to it, and no counter-revolutionary attack can haul it down."

On Lenin's suggestion it was decided to hold the conference in Prague. Lenin left Paris for Prague at the beginning of 1912. There, at the People's House, on the premises of the Czech Social-Democratic newspaper, the All-Russia Conference, known in Party history as the Prague Conference, was held in the utmost secrecy. The room in which it was held has now been restored to its original appearance, while in the building itself a Lenin Museum was opened on January 21, 1953.

The Czech Social-Democrats rendered great assistance in organising the conference. Besides providing the premises for it, they took care of the delegates and found lodgings for them in the homes of workers. Lenin shared a room with a St. Petersburg delegate, a worker named Y. P. Onufriyev. "He was so lively, good-natured and amiable that we felt at home with him at once, as if we had known him for years," Onufriyev wrote. "When he spoke to you he was always able to put his finger on what was most important. We were amazed and delighted to find

him so simple and so easy to talk to." Lenin gave every delegate his solicitous care and attention. He astonished everyone by his knowledge of the conditions of the working class and the peasantry in Russia and of the situation in the country.

Lenin directed all the work of the conference. On his motion the conference, which represented practically all the Party organisations then existing in Russia, proclaimed itself the supreme Party body called upon to set up competent central institutions and revive the Party. Lenin delivered the opening speech, presided over the sittings, made reports, drafted resolutions on the main points of the agenda and kept a record of the reports of the delegates from the local areas.

The conference adopted Lenin's draft resolution on the current situation and the tasks of the Party. It drew the attention of Party organisations to the need for further sustained efforts to educate, organise and rally the advanced mass of the proletariat, and to re-establish the illegal Party organisation, which would make wider use than ever before of legal opportunities. Such an organisation would be capable of guiding the economic struggle of the proletariat, and it alone would be able to "take the lead in political actions by the proletariat that are growing more frequent", the resolution emphasised.

Lenin's report on the activities of the International Socialist Bureau, on the struggle against opportunism and on the situation in the international labour movement was received by the delegates with great interest. The report contained

important propositions concerning the new historical epoch, the epoch of socialist revolutions, the "epoch of battles against the bourgeoisie", to quote Lenin, and, in this connection, concerning the struggle in the international labour movement between the revolutionary Social-Democrats and the reformists. Lenin dealt specially with the situation within the German Social-Democratic Party. He noted an extreme sharpening of relations within that party—"unity on the surface and two different trends beneath". "The German Social-Democrats," Lenin said, "are undoubtedly approaching a new epoch—the epoch of the socialist revolution. The economic and military crisis and world complications, all tend to bring out the symptoms of the epoch."

In his speeches at the conference Lenin gave a good deal of attention to the question of new, more flexible organisational forms of Party work that would ensure close contact with the masses and conform with the upsurge of the working-class movement. He once again emphasised the importance of Party organisations making skilful use of all forms of legal work, especially through the Duma group, the trade unions and legal workers' associations.

Lenin dealt at length with the work the Party organisation was to carry out through the legal workers' associations, namely, arranging lectures, disseminating legal Bolshevik literature through the libraries and reading-rooms, club work, etc. Did we do anything to expand these associations? Lenin asked. Did we report on these

associations at the factories and mills? Lenin pointed out that in this field the Party organisations had not done enough. The illegal cells had to build up a network of legal organisations, which would broaden the basis of Party work. At the same time Lenin stressed the importance of cultural work in the legal organisations, which was to be permeated with the Party spirit. He regarded this, among other things, as a pledge of success in the fight against the liquidators. The conference determined the political line and tactics to be followed by the Party in the new conditions of the revolutionary upsurge.

The Prague Conference played an outstanding role in the building up of the Bolshevik Party, a party of a new type. It had the significance of a Party congress. The conference passed a resolution expelling the Menshevik-liquidators from the Party. They were declared to be beyond the pale of the Party. The conference called upon all Party members to fight liquidationism, to explain how harmful it was to the cause of working-class emancipation, and to concentrate all efforts on restoring and strengthening the illegal Party organisations.

Lenin's speeches and the entire work of the conference were permeated with a spirit of irreconcilability towards opportunism. The decisions adopted were of major international significance. The complete organisational break of the Bolsheviks with the opportunists served as an example to the revolutionary elements in other Social-Democratic parties.

Electing a Central Committee was a most important matter on the agenda of the conference. Among the elected were V. I. Lenin, F. I. Goloshchekin, G. K. Orjonikidze, S. S. Spandaryan, and others. The Central Committee co-opted I. S. Belostotsky and J. V. Stalin, and nominated A. S. Bubnov, M. I. Kalinin, Y. D. Stasova and S. G. Shahumyan candidates for co-option in the event of the arrest of any member of the C.C. A Russian bureau of the C. C. was formed. Later the C. C. co-opted G. I. Petrovsky and Y. M. Sverdlov. In a letter to Gorky Lenin wrote: "We have finally succeeded—in spite of the liquidationist scoundrels—in reviving the Party and its Central Committee. I hope you will be as glad of this as we are."

After the conference the Bolsheviks, with Lenin, proceeded energetically to implement its decision. The C. C. members and the delegates went out to the local areas to deliver reports on the conference there. Lenin, in his letters, recommended that all the major resolutions of the conference be reprinted in leaflet form and distributed among the masses, "With leaflets you will win everything". He stressed the need for urgently restoring contact with the Party organisations: "Give us more contacts. Contacts, contacts, contacts, that's what we haven't got. Without this everything is unstable," he wrote to the members of the C.C. Bureau in Russia. The decisions of the conference were supported whole-heartedly by the Party organisations.

In the spring of 1912, on the initiative of the

St. Petersburg workers, who had Lenin's full support, a legal Bolshevik daily, *Pravda*, was founded. The first issue appeared in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), at a time when the whole country was seething with angry protest against the shooting by the tsarist troops of workers at the Lena gold-fields in the remote Siberian taiga. A wave of protest strikes against this massacre swept the country.

The day *Pravda* first appeared is now marked as an anniversary of the workers' press.

In order to be closer to Russia, Lenin moved from Paris to Cracow (this part of Poland then belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire). He lived there for over two years, up to the outbreak of the First World War, spending the winters in Cracow and the summers in the village of Poronin. Cracow being close to the Russian border, the St. Petersburg newspapers arrived there on the third day; moreover it was easier from there to correspond and maintain direct contact with the Party organisations in Russia. In Cracow, as everywhere else, Lenin studied the life of the local population, the working folk, and the peasantry in the surrounding villages. He established still closer ties with the Polish labour movement and the Polish Social-Democrats, whom he rendered great assistance. As always, he worked hard and devoted all his time and energy to Party work, to the cause of the working class.

The Polish people lovingly preserve everything that is associated with Lenin's sojourn in their country. Lenin Museums have been opened in

Cracow and Poronin and memorial plaques have been installed on the houses in which Lenin lived and worked.

Lenin gave *Pravda* day-to-day attention. He carried on a lively correspondence with the editors, rejoiced in the paper's successes and helped it to rectify its mistakes and oversights. He worked hard to get the paper promptly distributed among the workers and to increase its circulation, recommending that subscriptions be taken directly at the factories and mills. "A victory of Party principles is a victory for *Pravda* and vice versa," he wrote. He pointed out that the workers' newspaper must be a militant organ, it must be in the forefront, must tackle problems head-on, and expose those who injure the cause of the working class, the revolution.

Lenin patiently explained what line the workers' newspaper had to take towards the liquidators. "One can't in any way talk about unity with the liquidators: one cannot unite the Party with the destroyers of the Party," Lenin wrote to the editors of *Pravda*. He taught the *Pravda* staff to lend an ear to criticism, not to hush up mistakes, and to have the courage to admit and rectify them. "An error rectified is an error no more. Unrectified it becomes a festering sore," he emphasised.

While repeatedly noting the successes of the editors in running the newspaper (the most successful articles, the paper's bigger size, the growing number of subscribers, etc.), Lenin pointed out that *Pravda* should not rest on its laurels, should not

relax its efforts to win a mass readership and spread "wider and deeper" into the masses.

Lenin wrote for *Pravda* almost every day. In its columns the leader of the Bolshevik Party explained to the working-class masses the essence of Marx's teaching and the significance of the theory of revolutionary Marxism. His articles, simply and clearly written, cultivated in the reader a sense of proletarian internationalism, class solidarity and unity of interests among the workers of all countries. Lenin often wrote on questions dealing with the strike movement. "All wheels cease to whir when thy hand wills it," he quoted the words of the German labour song in describing the progress of the strike of the British coal-miners in 1912. He stressed the significance of the unity of action, the fortitude and grit of the strikers. During the period 1912-14 *Pravda* printed over 280 articles by Lenin, most of them over the pseudonyms "V. Ilyin", "V. Frey", "V. I.", "T", "Pravdist", "Statistician", "Reader", etc.

He wrote of Russia's economic backwardness with bitterness and alarm, and denounced the exploiting classes, who had condemned the people to poverty, oppression and illiteracy.

Lenin showed that capitalism was acting as a drag on science, technology and culture. Through fear of the growing strength of the working class, the imperialists were ready to support all that was backward and moribund, and to crush all that was young and new. "But the young is growing and will emerge supreme in spite of all,"

Lenin wrote. He came out in ardent support of the Chinese revolution and of the national liberation movement in the other Asian countries.

Through *Pravda* Lenin explained the importance of proletarian organisation and unity. "Disunited, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything." He inculcated in the Party and the working class confidence in the coming victory of the revolution.

Pravda was extremely popular with the workers, and was run on funds collected by the workers themselves. Lenin regarded the workers' donations to the paper as equivalent to Party membership dues. The paper played an important role in strengthening the Party organisations and politically educating the mass of the workers. It waged a fight against the liquidators, the Trotskyists, the otzovists and other opportunists. It helped to lay a sound foundation for a mass Bolshevik Party, which no amount of provocations or persecution could destroy. *Pravda* brought up a new generation of revolutionary workers, hundreds of thousands of advanced proletarians, who were later to play a decisive role in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Pravda's editorial staff and active contributors, at various times, included N. N. Baturin, Demyan Bedny, Nadezhda Krupskaya, V. M. Molotov, V. I. Nevsky, M. S. Olminsky, N. I. Podvoisky, N. G. Poletayev, K. N. Samoilova, M. A. Savelyev, N. A. Skrypnik, J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, P. I. Stučka, A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova and K. S. Yeremeyev. The Bolshevik deputies of the Fourth

Duma were active contributors to the paper. Maxim Gorky's writings were also published in *Pravda*.

The organisation of *Pravda* by Lenin and his associates and its use as an instrument of revolutionary policy and political education of the masses under the harsh conditions of tsarism were an outstanding event in the history of the entire international labour movement. The fine traditions of Lenin's *Pravda*—devotion to the Party and the revolution, high principles, an uncompromising attitude to ideological vacillation, and closeness to the masses—serve as an example to the progressive, communist, revolutionary press of the whole world.

In the autumn of 1912 elections were held to the Fourth Duma. Lenin considered that participation in the election campaign would help to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses and stimulate the work of the Party organisations. "Very much depends on the outcome of the elections for the building up of the Party," he wrote.

The Party's election platform drawn up by Lenin and issued in the form of a leaflet signed by the Central Committee served as the Party's guide in the campaign. The Bolsheviks put forward three basic demands: a democratic republic, an eight-hour working day, and confiscation of all the landed estates. These demands were figuratively called "the three pillars".

Lenin closely followed the progress of the election campaign and gave instructions to *Prav-*

da on how to stimulate the workers' participation in the elections. He had reason to be satisfied with the results. The workers' curia* in all of the six principal industrial gubernias where four-fifths of the Russian proletariat were concentrated returned Bolshevik deputies to the Duma.

Lenin directed the work of the Bolshevik deputies, drafted their speeches on major political issues and taught them to use the Duma platform for revolutionary propaganda. He drew up detailed theses for the maiden speeches of the worker deputies in the Duma. These theses formed the basis of the draft declaration of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. Lenin advised the members of the Social-Democratic group to declare in their maiden speeches that Russian Social-Democracy was a contingent of the great international army of the socialist proletariat, and that the time was drawing near when an end would be put to capitalism and the millions of united proletarians would create a socialist society in which there would be no poverty, no exploitation of man by man.

The Bolshevik deputies often came to visit Lenin in Cracow to seek his advice and assistance. They recall these talks and meetings with deep affection. This is how Duma Deputy M. K. Muranov describes his visit to Lenin: "Lenin and

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* *Curia*—a special subdivision of the electorate according to nationality, property, and other qualifications. In tsarist Russia the curiae existed in elections to the State Duma.—*Ed.*

Krupskaya occupied a small flat of two rooms. Simple tables and chairs, two iron bedsteads, a cheap wardrobe—that was practically all the furniture. But then all the free space was occupied by books, magazines and newspapers piled up on shelves and window-sills, and neatly stacked on the floor."

Lenin, Muranov observed, had the remarkable knack of listening to a man with such close attention "that it made you want to speak with greater precision and more to the point. At the same time he never for a moment let me, an ordinary workman, a fitter, feel his intellectual superiority."

A. Y. Badayev, another Duma deputy, tells how Lenin explained to the Bolshevik deputies their task in the Duma. "The task of the worker-deputy," Lenin said, "is day after day to remind the Black Hundreds from the Duma platform that the working class is strong and mighty, and that the day is not far off when the revolution will again rise and sweep away the Black Hundreds together with their ministers and their government." Lenin, Badayev recalls, said that the worker-deputy could introduce an amendment or even a bill, but all his actions should have one object: "He must denounce the tsarist regime, show up the awful tyranny of the government, speak of the downtrodden condition and brutal exploitation of the working class. This is what the workers really ought to hear from their deputy."

Besides the six Bolsheviks, the Social-Democratic group in the Duma included seven Menshe-

viks returned by the non-industrial gubernias. The Menshevik liquidators used their one-man majority to hamstring the activities of the Bolshevik deputies. Lenin, through *Pravda*, denounced the disruptive activities of the Menshevik deputies, which were hostile to the interests of the working class. Lenin put the thing in a nutshell when he described the struggle between the six Bolshevik deputies and the seven Menshevik deputies in the following words: "The liquidators are *out to prevent* the workers from building up their own working-class party—that is the meaning and significance of the struggle between 'the six and the seven'. They cannot, however, prevent it. The struggle is a hard one, but workers' success is assured." The Bolshevik deputies, backed by the majority of the workers, formed an independent group in the Duma.

Under Lenin's guidance, the worker-deputies A. Y. Badayev, G. I. Petrovsky, M. K. Muranov, F. N. Samoilov and N. R. Shagov courageously conducted propaganda and agitation among the masses. They spoke at factories and mills, set up new Party organisations, contributed to *Pravda*, organised assistance for strikers and carried out assignments of the Central Committee. They held high the banner of the working-class party in the hostile, Black-Hundred Duma. The Bolshevik deputies, wrote Lenin, "excelled, not in high-flown speech, or being 'received' in bourgeois, intellectualist salons . . . but in ties with the working masses, in dedicated work among those masses, in carrying on modest, unpretentious, ardu-

ous, thankless and highly dangerous duties of illegal propagandists and organisers." Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance which the Bolsheviks' "parliamentary" experience had for the whole international communist movement.

An important role in strengthening the Party and its unity was played by the decisions of the conferences which the Central Committee held under Lenin's guidance with Party workers in Cracow and Poronin in 1913. Lenin attached great importance to these conferences. This is borne out, for instance, by a letter he sent to Paris during the work of the Cracow Conference. "I am writing at the meeting. It's going wonderfully. It will be no less significant than the 1912 January Conference. There will be resolutions on *all* important issues, unity *included*. . . .

"*All* the resolutions are being adopted *unanimously*. . . . Gigantic success!"

The conference emphasised the special significance of the struggle for unity in the revolutionary workers' movement. In the resolution "On the Attitude to Liquidationism and on Unity" moved by Lenin, the conference put forward the slogan of unity from below, carried out by the workers themselves on the basis of the recognition of the illegal organisation and revolutionary tactics. "*Unity of the illegal* organisation and an appeal to all workers to build it is absolutely essential," Lenin wrote.

The arrival of Party functionaries from Russia cheered Lenin greatly. "The base at Cracow has proved to be useful: our move to Cracow has fully

'paid for itself' (from the point of view of the cause)," he wrote to Gorky in January 1913.

In his Notification on the conference Lenin called the year 1912 a great historical turning-point in the Russian working-class movement. The strike movement in Russia, he said, was broader in scope than anywhere else in the world, even in the more developed countries, and Russia had entered a period of new revolutionary upsurge. He noted with great satisfaction that the Bolshevik Party had grown in strength and numbers and its influence among the working masses had spread. It was the task of the Party organisations, he said, in every way to support, develop and organise revolutionary strikes, demonstrations and meetings, and to draw the peasants into simultaneous and united action with the workers. Service to the cause of the revolution, Lenin wrote, was the principal duty of every member of the Party.

In the spring of 1913 Krupskaya's health began to fail, and Lenin moved with her from Cracow to the village of Poronin. They rented a house on an eminence commanding a fine view. Lenin loved to take walks in the mountains—it was his favourite form of relaxation after intensive work. Krupskaya's health showing no improvement, they were obliged to go to Berne for treatment. At the end of July, Lenin and Krupskaya returned to Poronin.

While in Switzerland, Lenin lectured on the national question in Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Berne, and later, in Paris, Leipzig and

Cracow. His lectures, the profundity and novelty of the ideas, and the clear, simple and forceful way in which they were expounded, deeply impressed his audience.

The national question had acquired special importance at that time. Preparing as they were for a world war, the bourgeoisie and landowners were stirring up national animosity in an attempt to split the ranks of the working class. The tsarist government was strangling the national liberation movement and inciting one nation against the other. Lenin set before the Bolsheviks the task of defending the international unity of the labour movement, regarding such unity as the main source of its strength. In a multinational country like Russia it was extremely important that the class struggle of the Russian proletariat should be merged with the struggle of the workers and all the labouring masses of the oppressed nations.

In his articles "Critical Remarks on the National Question" and "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin elaborated and substantiated the Marxist programme on the national question and the national policy of the Bolshevik Party. The basic demands of the Party's national programme formulated by Lenin were: complete equality for all nations, the right of nations to self-determination (i.e., the right to secede and form independent states), and a close union of the workers of all nationalities in common proletarian organisations.

The main thing, Lenin stressed, was the unity of the workers of all nations rallied under the

banner of proletarian internationalism. He waged an irreconcilable struggle against the penetration of bourgeois nationalism into the ranks of the working class, against national insularity and narrow-mindedness. He criticised the Ukrainian nationalists, who, under the guise of uniting the Ukrainian nation, advocated weakening the ties formed between the Ukrainian and Russian proletariat, and wrote: "Given united action by the Great-Russian and Ukrainian proletarians, a free Ukraine *is possible*; without such unity, it is out of the question." These prophetic words are inscribed in gold on the granite pedestal of the monument to Lenin in Kiev. This monument was erected by the Ukrainian people as a token of their deep affection for and gratitude to the great teacher of all the Soviet peoples and the working men and women of the whole world.

In his works Lenin showed that the Bolshevik Party was the only true champion of the rights and interests of all the oppressed peoples and that the unity of the peoples was an indestructible force in the struggle against the landowners and capitalists.

The revolutionary movement in Russia was steadily spreading. Strikes involving nearly one and a half million workers took place during the first half of 1914. Economic strikes were interlinked with political strikes. The country was moving towards another revolution. The Bolsheviks were preparing for their next congress. The outbreak of the imperialist war, however, prevented the congress from being convened.

Steeled in revolutionary activity, the Bolshevik Party, under Lenin's leadership, was prepared for the grim ordeals of the world war.

Fidelity to Proletarian Internationalism

The imperialist war, which started in the summer of 1914, was a conflict between two groups of major imperialist powers: Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as Turkey and Bulgaria on the one hand, and Britain, France and Russia on the other. Both groups pursued a policy of aggrandisement. Eventually the United States of America, Japan, Italy and other countries entered the war. It became a world war. For the peoples it was a terrible calamity, and the working masses bore the brunt of it.

The outbreak of the war found Lenin in Poronin. From the very outset he was vigorously opposed to it. Acting on false information the Austrian authorities arrested Lenin on a charge of espionage in favour of the tsarist government (during a search at Lenin's house the policeman had found the manuscript on the agrarian question and had taken the statistical tables in it for a secret code). The charge was very serious one, carrying the death penalty. Prominent public men in Poland and Austria came out in Lenin's defence, proving the absurdity of the charge against him. After holding Lenin in custody for two weeks, the military authorities were compelled to release him.

Lenin considered it essential to continue the work of guiding the revolutionary struggle of the workers against tsarism and the imperialist war, which his arrest had interrupted. In Austria, however—a country which was involved in the war—this was extremely difficult. He therefore obtained permission to go to Switzerland. There, first in Berne and later in Zurich, he lived up to March 27 (old style), 1917.

The war did not come as a surprise to Lenin. He had repeatedly warned that the capitalists were preparing for war and had urged the need to fight against it. The tactics of the Social-Democrats with regard to war had been devised at the international socialist congresses in Stuttgart (1907) and Basle (1912). The leaders of the West-European socialist parties had pledged themselves to oppose war, and if it did break out, to rally the working class for the overthrow of capitalism. When the war broke out, however, the leaders of these parties betrayed the proletariat and openly sided with the bourgeoisie of their countries. In France, Britain and Belgium the socialists joined the governments, and in Germany they voted in favour of war loans. They justified the policies of the imperialist governments of their respective countries and called on the nation to support the war. They carried on chauvinist propaganda among the workers, arguing that the fight for socialism, the class solidarity of the workers of different countries and their international unity was a peacetime job, and that in wartime the workers should forget about the fight

against the bourgeoisie of their country and make a supreme war effort. The socialists who held such views became known as social-chauvinists—socialists in words and chauvinists in deeds. In Russia a policy of social-chauvinism was pursued by Plekhanov, Alexinsky, Maslov and others.

Another section of the socialists headed by Kautsky in Germany, Trotsky in Russia, and Longuet in France took a middle-of-the-road stand, for which they were dubbed Centrists. While in word declaring their disagreement both with the social-chauvinists and their opponents, the Centrists, in effect, gave the social-chauvinists every support, justified their actions and helped them to deceive the workers. This was a shameful betrayal of the cause of socialism and internationalism on the part of the leaders of the socialist parties. It led to the collapse of the Second International, which was to have headed the struggle of the workers of all countries against the war. It broke up into separate, hostile national parties. The leaders' betrayal disrupted the labour movement. The workers were unable to come out against the war straightaway in an organised fashion.

At this crucial moment in history Lenin, with the Bolshevik Party he had created and reared, held high the banner of proletarian internationalism. Lenin's courageous call to declare war on the war resounded throughout the world. The weapons, Lenin said, had to be turned not against one's brothers, the hired slaves of other countries, but against the reactionary bourgeois govern-

ments. This was a call to proletarian revolution.

Lenin mapped out a clear-cut programme of struggle against the imperialist war. The day after his arrival in Berne he addressed a meeting of the local Bolshevik group at which he made a report on the attitude towards the war and set forth his theses "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War". He gave explicit answers to questions concerning the nature of the war and the tasks and tactics of the working class and its Party. He made it clear that the war which broke out in Europe was an imperialist world war started by the bourgeoisie of the big capitalist countries and joined by the Russian bourgeoisie and tsarism with a view to carrying out their anti-national plans of conquest. The bourgeoisie and landowners also looked upon the war as a means of checking the mounting revolutionary movement of the proletariat and all the working people within the country.

Lenin offset the opportunist "defence-of-the-fatherland" appeal with the reovlutionary slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war", a war of the working class and the labouring masses against the bourgeoisie of their own countries. This slogan expressed the vital interests of the working class, of all the working masses, and was in keeping with the decisions of the international socialist congresses on the tactics of the working class with regard to war. It became the main slogan of the Bolshevik Party.

Lenin pointed out that in all the advanced countries the war had brought into focus the ques-

tion of socialist revolution. It was the duty of socialists and class-conscious workers to rebuff chauvinism, and stand up for class solidarity, for their socialist convictions, their internationalism. The working masses had to organise and prepare for a decisive fight with the bourgeoisie, prepare for civil war. In Russia this was linked with the chief task—that of carrying on the fight against the autocracy. Lenin put forward the slogan: "Work for the defeat of your own government in the imperialist war." Defeat at the front, he declared, would weaken the enemies of the proletariat—the ruling, exploiting classes—and facilitate the victory of the people.

In order to wage a successful struggle in the interests of the working class Lenin considered it essential for the revolutionary internationalists in all countries to break with the opportunists, with the Second International, and set up illegal organisations capable of fighting against the war. He urged the creation of a new, truly revolutionary Communist International.

Such were the slogans which defined the major tasks and tactics of the Bolshevik Party in the First World War. Lenin urged socialists in all countries to follow these tactics. In this was expressed the proletarian internationalism of Bolshevism, whose aim was to secure class solidarity and unity of the workers of different nations in the fight against the imperialist war. Lenin's theses were approved by the Party organisations in Russia and abroad, and adopted as a guide to practical revolutionary activity.

Contending with great difficulties, Lenin succeeded in resuming (after a year's interval) publication of the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Issue No. 33 which appeared in the autumn of 1914, carried the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. entitled "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", written by Lenin on the basis of his theses on the war. Lenin made every effort to bring the revolutionary calls of the Bolsheviks to the largest possible number of workers not only in Russia but in other countries as well. He arranged for the Manifesto to be translated into foreign languages and sent copies of it to the Social-Democratic newspapers in the various countries. The newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* played a tremendous role in strengthening contacts between the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) and the Party organisations and propagandising revolutionary ideas.

The Bolshevik Party, under Lenin's leadership, fought hard against the war. The Bolshevik deputies in the Duma developed revolutionary activity among the workers to help them rally for the fight against tsarism and the bourgeoisie. On Lenin's instructions the Bolsheviks expounded their Party's slogans on war and peace at all international socialist conferences held at that time.

Lenin gave the lie to the allegations of the bourgeoisie and its henchmen—the opportunists who were hostile to the Bolshevik slogans—that the Bolsheviks did not care for the interests of their country and were unpatriotic. He gave these

slanderers the rebuff they deserved and explained the meaning of true patriotism.

In his article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" he wrote that the sense of love for their country was not alien to the socialists and class-conscious proletarians. They loved their people and were fighting for their enlightenment and liberation from national and social oppression. Lenin pointed out that the Bolshevik Party was devoted to the interests of the country and that, correctly understood, the national interests of the workers of Russia coincided with the socialist interests of the world proletariat. He was proud of the great Russian people, who had displayed splendid heroism and staunchness in the struggle for their country's independence, for freedom and socialism, and had enriched mankind with outstanding achievements in science and culture.

Lenin taught the workers to grasp the true nature of the war, to correctly define their attitude towards it and towards the "defence-of-the-fatherland" slogan. He said that there were just and unjust wars. Unjust wars were wars of conquest, imperialist wars, waged by the bourgeoisie. They were wars aimed at crushing the national liberation movement of the peoples fighting for the freedom and independence of their country. They were wars of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat who had risen to fight for its liberation. Such wars were waged for the sake of strengthening the rule of the bourgeoisie and plundering and enslaving other nations. That was why the

workers had to oppose such wars and realise that the "defence-of-the-fatherland" slogan was meant to hoodwink them.

Just wars, Lenin said, were the defensive wars which the peoples waged against imperialist aggressors, national liberation wars, civil wars waged by the proletariat for liberation from capitalist bondage, wars to defend socialist states against imperialist attack. In just wars the workers should uphold the "defence-of-the-fatherland" slogan. "We are against defence of the fatherland and a defensive position in the *imperialist war of* 1914-16 and in other *imperialist* wars, typical of the imperialist *epoch*," he wrote. "But in the imperialist *epoch* there *may* be also 'just', 'defensive', revolutionary wars." Lenin explained that in the struggle against unjust wars the chief role must be played by the international solidarity of the workers of different countries.

To deal with all the important issues connected with Social-Democratic activities during the war it was imperative for the Party to convene a congress. That, however, could not be done under wartime conditions. Istead of a congress, a conference of Bolshevik organisations abroad was held in Berne in February 1915. The conference was directed by Lenin, who delivered the main report "The War and the Tasks of the Party"and submitted draft resolutions on all major issues: the nature of the war, the "defence-of-the-fatherland" slogan, the defeat of the tsarist monarchy, the attitude to other parties and groups, etc. These draft resolutions emphasised that the war could be

ended and a truly democratic peace brought about only by giving full support to and developing revolutionary action by the masses, by strengthening proletarian unity. The immediate tasks of the socialists were: to vote against war loans; to demand the withdrawal of their representatives from bourgeois governments; to set up illegal organisations; to support fraternisation among the soldiers at the front and all revolutionary actions of the working people. The decisions of this conference had the force of congress decisions and served as a guide to Party organisations in rallying the masses, in the fight against the war.

Lenin carried on his Party work without a moment's interruption. He lectured in Zurich, Montreux, Berne, Geneva and other Swiss towns, and wrathfully branded the bloody crimes of the imperialist governments and the collaboration of the opportunists. He showed that the Second International had collapsed because it had tolerated opportunists in its ranks. The opportunists, Lenin wrote, were enemies of the working class, who in peacetime secretly worked in the interests of the bourgeoisie within the workers' parties. In wartime they openly sided with the bourgeoisie against the workers and pursued a chauvinist policy. He demanded that they be vigorously combated. "We cannot be patient, we cannot be diplomatic, we must revolt against shameful chauvinism with all our strength!!" he wrote, laying stress on the fact that the first task of the socialists in every country was to fight the chauvinists in their countries.

Lenin was particularly vehement in his criticism of the Centrists—Kautsky, Trotsky and others. "I hate and despise Kautsky now more than anyone," he wrote. "The opportunists are an obvious evil. The German 'Centre' headed by Kautsky is a concealed evil, diplomatically coloured over, contaminating the eyes, the mind and the conscience of the workers, and more dangerous than anything else."

With the passion of a revolutionary, militant Marxist so characteristic of him, Lenin exposed the attempts of the opportunists to distort Marxism. During the years of the war Lenin had to fight against new manifestations of opportunism among Russian Social-Democrats. He gave a good deal of attention to exposing the fallacious views of the Bukharin-Pyatakov group, who opposed the struggle for socialism to the struggle for democracy. They failed to understand that the struggle for democracy brought socialism nearer. Bukharin at that time adopted a semi-anarchist stand on the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. G. Zinoviev took a conciliatory stand towards this group. He, too, was guilty of a deviation from Marxism on the question of war, for which Lenin sharply criticised him. Lenin's struggle against opportunism earned him the hatred of his political opponents. In one of his letters he wrote: "There it is, my fate. One fighting campaign after another—against political stupidities, philistinism, opportunism and so forth.

"It has been going on since 1893. And so has

the hatred of the philistines on account of it. But still, I would not exchange this fate for 'peace' with the philistines."

Lenin set before the Bolsheviks the task of waging an implacable struggle against international opportunism and its defenders—the Kautskyites. This was an international task, he pointed out. "It devolves on us, there is no one else. We must not retreat from it."

Lenin's impassioned words of truth reached the progressive-minded workers across all the barriers and front lines. Despite the rigid wartime laws, Lenin succeeded in re-establishing contact with the Bolshevik organisations in Russia, to whom he sent letters and articles with instructions on how to fight tsarism and the bourgeoisie, how to combat the imperialist war.

The difficulties were enormous. Tsarism loosed an orgy of savage repressions against the Bolsheviks.

The Bolshevik deputies in the Duma were exiled to Siberia for their revolutionary activities. The Central and Petrograd* committees and many other organisations of the Party were repeatedly smashed. Advanced revolutionary-minded workers were deported to Siberia or sent off to the front. But Lenin firmly believed in the strength of the Party, in the strength of the working class of Russia and its ability to overcome all

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* St. Petersburg was renamed Petrograd in August 1914.—*Ed.*

obstacles. "... The work of our Party has now become 100 times more difficult," Lenin wrote. "And still we shall carry it on! *Pravda* has trained up thousands of class-conscious workers out of whom, in spite of all difficulties, a new collective of leaders—the Russian C.C. of the Party—will be formed."

Notwithstanding the hue and cry raised against it by the tsarist government, the Bolshevik Party carried on an active struggle against the war. It prepared the proletariat and other working people for the coming revolution. In articles published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* Lenin gave answers to all the questions that arose before the Party and the working class. Believing as he did that the revolution was in sight, he carefully mapped out the Party's line in it. In an article entitled "Several Theses", he wrote in 1915: "To the question of what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution placed power in its hands in the present war, our answer is as follows: we would propose peace to *all* the belligerents on the condition that freedom is given to the colonies and *all* peoples that are dependent, oppressed and deprived of rights." And this was done as soon as the proletariat of Russia took power and the Bolshevik Party became the ruling party.

Under the most difficult wartime conditions, the Party, led by Lenin, fulfilled its international revolutionary duty and showed all the workers' parties how to fight for the interests of the working class and the working masses, for the imple-

mentation of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Tirelessly and persistently, Lenin rallied and united the adherents of proletarian internationalism in the West-European parties. He carried on a lively correspondence with Left-wing socialists in Bulgaria, Holland, Sweden, Norway and other countries, urging them to break with the opportunists and to create a Third, Communist International in place of the Second International which had fallen apart.

The Russian Bolsheviks and their Left-wing followers in the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe were a negligible minority in the labour movement at that time. But Lenin firmly believed that revolutionary Marxism was bound to triumph. It did not matter that the Bolsheviks were few in number, he said, they would have the backing of millions, because the position of the Bolsheviks was the only correct one.

Lenin considered that the unity of the revolutionary internationalists should be founded on the ideological positions of Marxism. To clarify more fully all the problems which the war had posed before the Social-Democrats, Lenin wrote his book *Socialism and War*. This book was published in Russian, German, French, Norwegian and other languages, and was an important factor making for unity among the revolutionary internationalists.

Lenin took advantage of the international socialist conferences in Zimmerwald (September 1915) and Kienthal (April 1916) to weld together

the Left elements and to fight the opportunists. At Zimmerwald, Lenin succeeded in creating a Left group, which conducted active revolutionary work among the workers. Many adherents of the Zimmerwald Left played an important role in the struggle against the war and the opportunists, and eventually became active participants in the work of founding communist parties in their own countries, and a new, genuinely revolutionary Third International.

The tremendous scope of Lenin's work was a great strain upon him. He lived in very straitened circumstances. Never had he suffered such want. His writings were his chief source of income, but it was extremely difficult to find a publisher for anti-war articles and books. In one of his letters to a comrade he wrote: "As regards myself personally, I will say that I need to earn. Otherwise we shall simply die of hunger, really and truly!! The cost of living is devilishly high, and there is nothing to live on."

Lenin lived very simply and contented himself with the simplest clothes and barest necessities. In Zurich he and his wife lived in a narrow street, in a dingy old house with a tiny courtyard. Their room, which they rented from a bootmaker by the name of Kammerer, was ill-lit and inconvenient. Krupskaya, in her memoirs, wrote: "For the same money we could have rented a much better room, but we liked our hosts. It was a working-class family with a revolutionary outlook, who condemned the imperialist war. . . . There was not a hint of any chauvinism, and once,

when a whole women's international had gathered round the gas-stove, Frau Kammerer exclaimed with indignation: 'The soldiers ought to turn their weapons against their governments!' After that Ilyich would not hear of moving to another place." Lenin never grudged money for books or for the libraries in which he constantly worked. At home he had lots of books, newspapers and magazines in different languages. Whatever his material conditions, Lenin always worked hard, his time always rationally and efficiently organised.

Besides the practical work of directing the revolutionary movement, Lenin devoted much time to intensive theoretical work. He made a profound study of world literature dealing with the social history of different countries. He was interested in philosophy, economics, engineering, industry, agriculture, the revolutionary movement of the working class, the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, and many other problems. He made a particularly profound study of Marx and Engels, whose works he read and reread in order, as Krupskaya remarks, "to obtain a clearer idea of the epoch of socialist revolution, its ways and development".

Lenin was the first Marxist to reveal the essence of the new epoch which mankind had now entered. In his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* he showed that by the beginning of the twentieth century capitalism had entered a new stage of its development, the stage of imperialism.

Under imperialism, huge monopolies had come

into being. Therefore, Lenin called imperialism monopoly capitalism. The monopolies seized control of a large share of the world's raw material resources, industries and markets. They began to dominate the economic and political life of the bourgeois countries and to dictate their will to the governments. The whole world found itself divided up among a handful of imperialist countries. The process of uneven economic and political development was intensified. Countries like Germany, Japan and the United States, where capitalism developed at a later period, rapidly caught up with the advanced capitalist countries like Britain and France, and demanded a repartitioning of the world. The antagonisms between the capitalist countries sharpened. Under these conditions imperialist wars were unavoidable.

In their drive for profit the imperialists intensified the exploitation of the workers and the labouring masses at large, making their position unendurable. The proletariat began to realise the need for revolution. At the same time there was a sharpening of the contradictions between the handful of imperialist countries and their colonies and semi-colonies in which hundreds of millions of people were enslaved. Capitalism became a serious obstacle to the development of society.

"Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary," Lenin wrote. "... Mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the 'Great' Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colo-

nies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind." Lenin pointed out that imperialism was leading humanity to socialist revolution, was making it an urgent task of the day, that imperialism was the eve of a socialist revolution.

Lenin took a new approach to the question of the possibility of the victory of proletarian revolution. Formerly Marxists had believed that the victory of the socialist revolution in one country was impossible. They assumed that the revolution could be successful only if it occurred simultaneously in all or most of the developed capitalist countries. On the basis of new data concerning social development Lenin came to the conclusion that in the epoch of imperialism the socialist revolution could be victorious initially in several or even in one separate capitalist country.

This was a great scientific discovery. It showed the workers a revolutionary way out of the imperialist war and an escape from the hardships engendered by imperialism: the proletariat of each country need not wait for a revolutionary situation to mature in other countries. The working class must work to overthrow the bourgeoisie in its own country, take over power and effect the transition to socialism.

While producing evidence to show the inevitability of all nations arriving at socialism, Lenin at the same time pointed out that the socialist revolution could not be made to order or at somebody's bidding. It would mature in different countries at different times, and each country

would contribute something of its own to one or another form and tempo of socialist transformation. Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution strengthened the workers' faith in its victory, stimulated their revolutionary initiative and energies. Events were not long in confirming the correctness of Lenin's teachings.

The war had taken enormous toll of human life, had consumed vast material resources, and placed a crushing burden on the shoulders of the workers and peasants. The sufferings of the masses gave momentum to the revolutionary movement against the war in all countries. Strikes, demonstrations and other working-class actions became more frequent.

The revolutionary workers of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, were in the front ranks of the international proletariat fighting against the war. The military defeats, economic debacle and famine showed that tsarism was rotten to the core and utterly incapable of governing the country. Dissatisfaction with the policy of tsarism grew among all sections of the population. Lenin clearly saw and predicted the coming revolution in Russia. Indeed, it soon broke out.

The first to rise against tsarism were the workers of Petrograd. On January 9, 1917, the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, a huge anti-war demmonstration took place in Petrograd. Similar demonstrations were held in Moscow, Baku and Nizhni-Novgorod. From then on the revolutionary action of the workers mounted throughout Russia with every passing day.

In February 1917, at the call of the Bolshevik Party, the Petrograd workers organised a general political strike involving over 200,000 men and women. This strike developed into a mighty political demonstration. The workers poured out on to the streets of the capital with slogans of "Down with the autocracy!", "Down with the war!", "We want bread!" The Central Committee of the Party issued a Manifesto calling for the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy, the creation of a provisional revolutionary government, the establishment of a democratic republic, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, the confiscation of the landed estates and the cessation of the war.

The tsarist government tried to crush the mounting revolution with the aid of troops, but it was powerless to stem it. The soldiers sided with the workers against tsarism. Lenin's prophecy had come true. The workers and peasants, led by a truly revolutionary Marxist party, were victorious. The autocracy, which for centuries had oppressed the peoples of Russia, was overthrown. The revolutionary initiative of the Petrograd workers and soldiers was supported by the workers and soldiers of Moscow and other cities. They removed the tsarist officials and broke up the monarchist system. The bourgeois-democratic revolution had won in Russia.

In the course of the revolution there arose Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This was a great gain. However, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who had got into the

Soviets, betrayed the interests of the workers and peasants and allowed the Provisional Government set up by the bourgeoisie to seize state power. A dual power thus arose—the Provisional Government, representing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the Soviets, representing the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

The revolution created a new situation in the country. The autocracy was no more, and political liberties were proclaimed: freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and so on. The workers and soldiers were determined to secure the satisfaction of the people's revolutionary demands. All political parties were faced with the task of devising new tactics and dealing with such questions as the ways of the country's further development, the war, peace and the land.

The bourgeois parties of the Cadets and Octobrists* then in power strove to consolidate their rule, keep the Soviets subservient, halt the revolution and continue the war. They deceived the workers, saying that with the overthrow of the monarchy the war had become a just war and should be continued, and that afterwards the Constituent Assembly would meet and settle all issues. As a matter of fact they had no intention of meeting the revolutionary demands of the

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* *Octobrists*—a counter-revolutionary party representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners who adopted the capitalist method of management.—*Ed.*

people. Like tsarism, they counted on the war to make it easier for them to deal with the revolutionary workers and soldiers.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the people. They claimed that with the overthrow of the monarchy, bourgeois rule had come to stay, since conditions in Russia were not yet ripe for a socialist revolution and the workers were not yet ready to take power into their own hands and govern the country. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries saw to it that the Provisional Government had its own way in everything. They regarded the Soviets not as an organ of the revolutionary power of the workers and the poor peasants, but as an appendage of the Provisional Government.

From the very first day of the February Revolution the Bolshevik Party emerged from underground and mustered its forces. Many of the Party's prominent leaders—F. E. Dzerzhinsky, G. K. Orjonikidze, Y. M. Sverdlov, J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Yaroslavsky and others—returned from prison or exile. Publication of *Pravda* was resumed.

While in Switzerland, Lenin closely followed the development of revolutionary events in Russia. As soon as he learned of the victory of the February Revolution he sent a telegram to the Bolsheviks in Russia and wrote his "Letters From Afar" in which he gave detailed answers to all the questions which the revolution had posed before the Party. He pointed out that this was only

the first stage of the revolution, which had put the bourgeoisie in power, and that the Provisional Government could not be trusted. He set the task of denying the bourgeoisie any chance to consolidate its power, and making every effort to have the power transferred to the Soviets, dealing the final blow to the reactionary forces and preparing for the socialist revolution.

He addressed an impassioned appeal to the revolutionary workers of Russia. "You performed miracles of proletarian heroism yesterday in overthrowing the tsarist monarchy," he wrote. "In the more or less near future . . . you will again have to perform the same miracles of heroism to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists. . . ."

Lenin set the Bolsheviks the task of carrying on extensive explanatory work among the masses to bring home to them the fact that only a government of the working people could put an end to the war and secure a truly democratic peace.

Lenin warned against attempts to unite with the Mensheviks. Such attempts, made by some of the Bolsheviks, hindered the development of the revolutionary struggle and were a grave danger to the Party.

But Kamenev, who was a member of the *Pravda* editorial board, kept to himself the letters of Lenin which outlined the course of the struggle for a socialist revolution. Only the first of the "Letters From Afar" was printed in *Pravda,* and that with big cuts and amendments tending to

tone down Lenin's description of the Provisional Government and his criticism of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois defencist parties.

The Bolsheviks started extensive work among the masses. Some of the Bolshevik committees and a number of prominent Party workers, however, took an incorrect stand. Instead of urging continued struggle to have all power transferred to the Soviets, they called for "control by the masses" over the activities of the Provisional Government, understanding by control the organisation of demonstrations, protests and public statements. These were wrong tactics, because they gave the masses the false impression that the bourgeois Provisional Government could abandon the imperialist policy, end the war and give the people peace, bread and land.

Kamenev took up a semi-Menshevik stand on the Provisional Government and the war. In an article in *Pravda* he called for support for the Provisional Government and for continuation of the war, and later for bringing pressure to bear on the Provisional Government in order to make it propose a peace treaty.

The policy of bringing pressure to bear on the Provisional Government to make it start immediate peace negotiations was supported by Stalin. In mid-April Stalin renounced his erroneous views and adopted Lenin's stand.

The news of the revolution created a tremendous stir among the Social-Democratic emigrants abroad and initiated a series of meetings hailing the revolution with joy.

Lenin was all eagerness to be back in Russia. "You can imagine what torture it is for all of us to be sitting here at such a time," he wrote. He insistently sought ways and means of returning to Russia without delay. "From the moment the news of the revolution was received," Krupskaya wrote in her memoirs, "Ilyich had no sleep. His nights were spent building the most improbable plans."

The working people of Russia looked forward to the return of their leader with intense impatience. The Provisional Government, however, put all kinds of obstacles in the way. It circulated among its representatives abroad black lists containing the names of Lenin and other Bolsheviks who were not to be allowed to return home.

With the help of the Swiss Social-Democrats Lenin at last succeeded with great difficulty in arranging for a group of Bolsheviks and other emigrants to return home.

On the night of April 3 (16), 1917 after nearly ten years of exile, Lenin arrived in Petrograd. Revolutionary Russia welcomed home her great leader amid scenes of indescribable enthusiasm. Thousands of workers, men and women carrying red banners flocked to the Finland Station to meet him. Revolutionary detachments of soldiers and sailors organised a guard of honour. Amid loud cheers and shouts of greeting Lenin climbed on to the armoured car awaiting him and addressed the workers, soldiers and sailors with an impassioned appeal to fight for the new, socialist revolution, for the power of the Soviets.

Leader of the October Revolution

On his arrival in Petrograd Lenin threw himself into his work with renewed zeal. At a meeting of the Bolsheviks on April 4 he read his theses on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat, which have gone down in history as the *April Theses*. They were a decisive factor in determining a correct line for the Party to follow in the new historical situation. In them Lenin mapped out a concrete, precise plan for effecting the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had given power to the bourgeoisie, to the socialist revolution, which was to turn the power over to the working class and the poor peasants.

Lenin showed that the Provisional Government protected the interests of the capitalists and landowners, and that the war was still a predatory war of conquest. He put forward the slogans: "No support for the Provisional Government!", "All power to the Soviets!" He argued that only the power of the Soviets could give peace to the nation, land to the peasants and bread to the hungry. At the same time he warned that the moment was not yet ripe to call for the overthrow of the Provisional Government, since it was supported by the Soviets, which had the people's trust. The working people had to be won over by persistent and patient efforts, a majority had to be gained in the Soviets, which should be made Bolshevik Soviets. Given this condition, the power could go over peacefully to the workers

and the poor peasants. Lenin pointed out that the success of the socialist revolution depended on a firm alliance between the workers and the poor section of the peasantry, and he stressed the importance of extensive explanatory work in the countryside.

Lenin defined the tasks of the Party in the economic field as well. These were: confiscation of the landed estates and nationalisation of all the land, that is, the abolition of private property in land and its transfer to the Soviets of Peasants' and Agricultural Labourers' Deputies. Lenin proposed establishing workers' control over the factories and mills, over all social production and distribution. He also put forward the demand for all the banks in the country to be merged into one national bank under the control of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

He proposed convening a congress of the Party, renaming it the Communist Party and revising its programme, which by this time had largely been fulfilled. Its immediate objective—the overthrow of tsarism—had been achieved. The practical task of the Bolsheviks and all revolutionary Marxists, Lenin said, was to create a Third, Communist International.

Lenin's *April Theses* were a great programmatic document, a beacon lighting the path of the Russian proletariat's revolutionary struggle in the new historical conditions.

Lenin headed the Central Committee of the Party and the editorial board of *Pravda*, and directed the work of the Petrograd Bolshevik or-

ganisation. The Petrograd City Conference and the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. were held under his leadership. The latter was the first legal conference of the Bolsheviks held in Russia. In his speeches at these conferences Lenin clarified the programme and tactics of the Party as mapped out in his *April Theses*. He denounced the stand taken up by Kamenev, Rykov and their insignificant following, who repeated the Menshevik assertions that Russia was not yet ripe for a socialist revolution, and sharply criticised their sceptical attitude towards the revolution and their rejection of the idea that socialism could be victorious in Russia. The Party took Lenin's lead, rebuffed the opportunists, approved his plan of struggle for the socialist revolution and made it the basis for its practical activities.

Under Lenin's leadership the Bolsheviks carried on the work of explaining the Party's policy to the workers, soldiers and peasants, and politically educating and organising the masses. Lenin was at the centre of these extensive activities, and frequently spoke at meetings of workers of the Putilov, Obukhov, Trubochny and other factories and mills in Petrograd and addressed meetings of soldiers and sailors.

In his reminiscences of one such meeting, V. V. Vasilyev, a worker at the Putilov Plant, wrote: "The Putilov workers had just chased Chernov, the Socialist-Revolutionary, off the platform. And then the news flew through the factory: 'Lenin has come!' The great square out-

side the rolling shop . . . quickly filled with people. A crowd of twenty-five thousand gathered. People were even sitting on the roofs of the shops. We hung on Lenin's lips, afraid to miss a word. Those were hard times. The war was continuing, the factories were at a standstill through lack of fuel, and there was a food shortage. We workers expected a clear answer to many questions. And Vladimir Ilyich gave us those answers. He demonstrated that only the power of the Soviets could put a stop to the imperialist slaughter and give the people peace, bread and work."

Lenin's passionate, truthful words went straight to the heart of the working people. V. P. Yemelyanov, a worker at the Semyannikov Works, who attended one such meeting, recalled: "His words united people, showed each worker what to do and how to do it. . . . Lenin's words were weapons for the three thousand future fighting men. His ideas captured the hearts and minds of the workers, sailors and soldiers who heard him. . . . And, inspired by Lenin, each of us burned with a desire to plunge straight into battle."

Speaking at the First All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Deputies, Lenin called for the immediate seizure of the landed estates, and spoke of the need for an independent organisation of farm labourers and poor peasants. He gave considerable attention to the press and his articles frequently appeared in *Pravda*. In his speeches and articles Lenin exposed the counter-revolutionary policy of the Provisional Government and the policy of compromise pursued by the Mensheviks and

Socialist-Revolutionaries, and explained the Bolshevik slogans. He impressed upon the workers and soldiers that only with the passing of all power to the Soviets could Russia find her way out of the impasse into which the rule of the bourgeoisie had led her. The workers, peasants and soldiers became more and more convinced of the truth of Lenin's ideas and went over to the side of the Bolsheviks. In their letters to Lenin they expressed their gratitude to him, their readiness to fight, and their utter devotion to his ideas. In a letter from the front a group of soldiers wrote: "Comrade, friend Lenin, remember that we soldiers are ready to march as one man behind you anywhere and that your idea really expresses the will of the peasants and workers."

Playing up to the bourgeoisie, the Provisional Government encroached more and more on the revolutionary gains of the workers. It continued the imperialist war, drove masses of soldiers to the front and did nothing to improve the lot of the workers and peasants, who were shedding their blood on the battlefronts and enduring appalling hardship and suffering. The masses expressed their discontent with the policy of the Provisional Government. The news of fresh casualties at the front following an attempt to launch an offensive, brought workers and soldiers out into the streets of Petrograd on July 3 to demand the transfer of all power to the Soviets. On Lenin's instructions the Bolsheviks led the demonstration and tried to give the movement a peaceful and organised character.

The Provisional Government, with the approval of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks then in control of the Soviets, met the demonstrators with armed force. Once more the streets of Petrograd ran with blood. Harsh reprisals were taken against the Bolshevik Party and the workers' organisations. Many Bolsheviks were thrown into prison. On the night of July 4 military cadets raided the offices of *Pravda*. Lenin, who had dropped in at the office half an hour earlier, had a narrow escape. The bourgeois Provisional Government assumed full power. The dual power in Russia came to an end. The period of peaceful development of the revolution was over, and a period of armed battles set in.

The Provisional Government started a campaign of slander against Lenin and the Bolsheviks in an attempt to render the Bolshevik Party leaderless. It outlawed Lenin, issued a warrant for his arrest and took all steps to seize and assassinate him. Kerensky, who was at the head of the Provisional Government, promised a large reward to anyone who gave information that would lead to Lenin's arrest. The bourgeois papers raised a hysterical hue and cry against the Bolsheviks.

In reply to the bourgeois campaign of malicious slander, Lenin, with a feeling of pride in the Party, said: "...We trust our Party. We see in it the intelligence, honour and conscience of our times." The Communist Party and the revolutionary workers took good care of their leader. By decision of the Central Committee Lenin went into hiding. For over three and a half months he

lived and worked underground, exposed every minute of the day to the risk of being caught by the sleuths of the Provisional Government.

For several days Lenin took refuge in the homes of Petrograd workers, and then lived in a shanty on the shore of Lake Razliv, near Petrograd, disguised as a Finnish haymaker. He was guarded and helped by N. A. Yemelyanov, a worker of the Sestroretsk Works. Lenin was given a scythe, a rake, an axe, a pot, and everything else a haymaker should have. Near the shanty a small clearing was made among the bushes, which Lenin jokingly called "my green study". Two blocks of wood were set up in the clearing, one to serve as a table and the other as a chair. There Lenin worked, wrote his articles and letters, and prepared his book *The State and Revolution*. Nothing could interrupt Lenin's regular and intensive work. Even under the most adverse conditions his mind was actively devising plans for further struggle.

While in hiding, he continued to direct the day-to-day activities of the Party and the struggle of the working class of Russia. He closely followed developments in the country at large, and at the war fronts, and was in constant touch with the Central Committee, whose members G. K. Orjonikidze, V. I. Zof, A. V. Shotman, E. A. Rahja and others came to see him. He questioned them about events in Petrograd and gave them instructions. Although the Party was driven underground, Lenin was full of confidence in the speedy victory of the working class. When Orjonikidze

repeated to Lenin the words of a comrade who had said that, in his opinion, power would soon pass to the Bolsheviks and Lenin would become head of state, Lenin answered in all seriousness: "Yes, that's how it will be." He said that the Menshevik Soviets had missed the opportunity for taking over power. It could only be taken now by means of an armed uprising, which would not be long in coming. The uprising would take place not later than September-October. On Lenin's suggestion the Party, after the July events, temporarily withdrew the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", since these Soviets, controlled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, had become appendages of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government. The question of the armed uprising now came to the fore.

From his place of hiding Lenin directed the Sixth Congress of the Party, which met at the end of July 1917 in Petrograd on a semi-legal footing, since the bourgeoisie had stepped up their witch-hunt against the Bolsheviks and threatened to break up their congress. One of the first questions discussed at the congress was whether Lenin should appear in court to be tried by the Provisional Government. The congress unanimously voted for Lenin not appearing for trial and protested against the baiting of the leader of the revolutionary proletariat. The congress sent Lenin a message of greeting and elected him its honorary chairman.

The political report of the Central Committee and the report on the political situation made by

Stalin were based on Lenin's theses "The Political Situation", "On Slogans", "Lessons of the Revolution" and others. The congress called upon the Party to work for the overthrow of the rule of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landowners through an armed uprising, since it was no longer possible, under the conditions then obtaining, for the working class to assume power by peaceful means. The congress decisions laid stress on Lenin's proposition to the effect that an alliance between the working class and the poor peasants was a prerequisite for the victory of the socialist revolution. The congress strongly rebuffed all those who expressed lack of faith in the socialist revolution in Russia; it upheld Lenin's theory concerning the victory of socialism in one country. The congress stressed the importance of carrying on work among the youth and declared in favour of setting up youth organisations and giving them Party leadership. All Lenin's proposals were endorsed by the congress and became Party decisions.

All the decisions of the congress were geared to preparing the working class and the poor peasantry for an armed uprising, for the victory of the socialist revolution. This precisely was the significant feature of the congress for the history of the Party and the revolution. On behalf of the congress the Central Committee of the Party expressed in its Manifesto, "To all the working people, to the workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia", its firm belief in the victory of the socialist revolution.

Lenin clearly saw that the socialist revolution was coming and prepared the Party for it. After the congress, the Party, under its leader's guidance, conducted organisational and explanatory work on a large scale among the workers, soldiers, sailors and peasants, at the factories, in the army and in the villages. Detachments of Red Guards were formed. The workers obtained weapons and learned to use them.

The impending socialist revolution brought into sharp focus the question of the Party's attitude to the bourgeois state and of what type of state should be set up when the proletariat came to power. The answers to these questions were given by Lenin in his famous book *The State and Revolution*, written in the autumn of 1917 while he was in hiding. He upheld the teaching of Marx and Engels on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which the opportunists had distorted, and developed that teaching as applied to the new historical situation.

He taught that every bourgeois state, however democratic it may appear, was essentially a form of dictatorship (domination) of the bourgeoisie. In overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie the proletariat was to establish a dictatorship of its own. The old machinery of state was to be broken up, smashed and replaced by a new one. Such a state was a truly democratic one, since it expressed the interests of the masses of the people. Lenin demonstrated with remarkable clarity and lucidity why a dictatorship of the proletariat was needed and what its

historical role was. "The proletariat," he wrote, "needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to *lead* the enormous mass of the population—the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy." Lenin pointed out that the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat was the essence of Marxism. He regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principal tool in the building of socialism.

In his book *The State and Revolution*, Lenin devoted considerable attention to an examination of socialism and communism, which he described as two phases in the development of communist society. Developing the views of Marx and Engels, he showed that socialism would inevitably evolve into communism. The book also contains important theses on the role of the Communist Party. The Party, he emphasises, is the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of leading the people to socialism, organising the new social order, acting as the teacher, guide and leader of all the working people. Only the Communist Party is capable of directing the construction of a new life without the bourgeoisie and against it.

Lenin's book gave the Party and the working class a clear understanding of what the workers' and peasants' state should be like. It showed that the Soviets should be the form of the state. It is of great significance for the communist and workers' parties of all countries.

In August, Lenin, in the guise of a locomotive fireman, moved to Finland. At first he lived in the home of a Finnish worker in a village near Helsingfors (now Helsinki) and then moved into the town.

Meanwhile, the situation in Russia was growing more and more tense. Economic disorganisation increased, railway transport was almost at a standstill through lack of fuel, the supply of food and raw materials to the towns had ceased, profiteering was rife, and the cost of living was steadily mounting. The bourgeoisie was deliberately aggravating the economic difficulties in the hope of strangling the revolution with the "bony hand of famine", as its spokesmen cynically expressed it. The capitalists closed down their factories and mills, throwing thousands of people out of work and dooming them to starvation. In this way the bourgeoisie sought to break the fighting spirit and will of the workers and ward off the socialist revolution.

At this period Lenin wrote his article "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It". He showed that the ruling capitalists and landowners were heading the country towards ruin. They wanted to take advantage of the economic disorganisation in order to do away with the Soviets and all the gains of the revolution, and restore power to the bourgeoisie. Lenin pointed the way out of this impending catastrophe. He made it clear that the country could be saved only by building socialism, that there could be no going forward unless the goal was socialism. The first

steps in this direction he considered to be: the nationalisation of the land, the nationalisation of the banks and the creation of a single state bank, the immediate establishment of workers' control over production and distribution. This would help to rehabilitate the ruined economy, organise its smooth working and put an end to the war.

"The revolution," Lenin wrote, "has resulted in Russia's catching up with the advanced countries in a few months, as far as her *political* system is concerned.

"But that is not enough. The war is inexorable; it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically as well*.... Perish or forge full steam ahead. That is the alternative put by history."

Lenin guessed the designs of the enemies of the revolution. He warned the Party and the people that the capitalists, the landowners and the reactionary army officers were hatching a plot against the revolution, and urged them to be prepared to rebuff the enemy. As he had predicted, the bourgeoisie made an attempt to crush the revolution. On August 25, General Kornilov, obedient servant of the Russian and foreign imperialists, raised a counter-revolutionary revolt and moved troops against Petrograd. He planned to crush the revolution by armed force and become military dictator. With the Party heading the struggle of the masses, the Kornilov revolt was suppressed in a few days. It was brought home to the work-

ers once more that the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, was the only party that protected their vital interests. The masses swung sharply towards the Bolsheviks. During the re-election to the Soviets the Bolsheviks received a majority. By August-September the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow had come under Bolshevik control. The Soviets gained prestige and strength.

Seeing that the impending revolution was inescapable and that the influence of the Bolsheviks among the working people was growing, the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries tried to frighten the masses. They kept repeating that the Bolsheviks would not be able to take the power into their hands, and if they did, they would not be able to hold it for even a fortnight, as they would not be capable of organising the government of the country. In his article "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Lenin showed that this propaganda on the part of the bourgeosie was designed to scare the working class. He pointed out that there were all the necessary prerequisites for the Bolsheviks to assume power, repulse the counter-revolution, retain power and reorganise the country's economy on socialist lines. An important role in this was to be played by the Soviets as the new machinery of government of the workers and peasants. The assumption of power by the working class, headed by the Bolshevik Party and supported by the poor peasantry, would release the initiative and energy of the hitherto oppressed millions and push forward the construction of the new life.

Lenin was still in hiding in Finland at this time, but he was kept informed of all that was going on in the country. His profound knowledge of Marxism and his remarkable ability to apply it to the practical struggle enabled him to obtain a quick grasp of events and chart the correct course of action for the Party, its strategy and tactics.

In face of the rapid momentum the revolution was gaining, the task was to make practical preparations for the seizure of power by the working class and the poor peasants, to make preparations for an armed uprising, and Lenin, seeing this, put this issue squarely before the Central Committee of the Party. With the Soviets in the big industrial centres now controlled by the Bolsheviks, the Party, on Lenin's suggestion, again put forward the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" This was now a call to armed uprising against the bourgeois government for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Over 250 Soviets in all parts of the country voted for this slogan.

In mid-September, Lenin, who was still forced to remain in hiding in Finland, sent two historic letters to the Central Committee and to the Petrograd and Moscow committees of the Party, namely: "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection", in which he demonstrated the need for urgent practical preparations for an armed uprising. "The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets . . . of both capitals," he wrote, "can and *must* take state power into their own hands."

Lenin carefully thought out and drew up a plan of insurrection. This plan took into account the forces of both the revolution and counter-revolution and all the conditions prevailing in the country at the time. Lenin proposed immediately organising insurgent detachment headquarters, deploying forces and concentrating the most reliable units at key points, namely, surrounding the government buildings and occupying the telephone exchange and telegraph office. He recommended forming strong fighting units capable of keeping the counter-revolutionary troops out of Petrograd and ensuring the city's defence. He showed that all conditions were now ripe for a successful armed uprising, and urged that Communists be sent out to the factories and army barracks, to all places where the masses lived and worked. "The pulse of life is there, there is the source of salvation for our revolution," he wrote.

The Central Committee circulated Lenin's letters among the local Party organisations as directives. The Party started preparations for the armed uprising. All leading Party organisations received concrete tasks. The detachments of the Red Guard* were reinforced and new units were formed. Training courses for military instructors were organised in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks of the Baltic Fleet prepared the sailors for an uprising. Frontline soldiers' organisations loyal to the Bolsheviks formed combat units to aid the workers.

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* *Red Guard*—armed forces of the proletariat during the Great October Socialist Revolution.—*Ed.*

In the middle of September Lenin moved from Helsingfors to Vyborg in order to be closer to Petrograd. The Bolshevik newspaper *Rabochy Put* (Workers' Path) printed his articles urging that thorough preparations be made for seizing power, since the hour had struck for starting the armed uprising. "The crisis has matured," he wrote. "The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake." To miss the opportune moment, he said, would mean losing everything. In a letter dated October 1 to the Central Committee, the Moscow and Petrograd Committees and the Bolshevik members of the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, Lenin pointed out that the insurrection must not be put off, "we must *resort to insurrection at once*".

On October 7 Lenin secretly left Vyborg for Petrograd to direct preparations for the armed uprising and to see it carried through. The same day he sent a letter to the City Conference of the Bolsheviks. On October 8, in a letter to the delegates of the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, he stressed that the moment for decisive action had come. "Delay would be fatal," he wrote. He firmly believed in the strength of the Bolshevik Party and its ability to lead the masses. He knew what inexhaustible springs of energy lay untapped in the revolutionary working class of Russia. He was confident of the victorious outcome of the armed uprising.

On October 10 the question of the armed uprising was discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee. Lenin made a report in which he

showed that the moment was ripe for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the poor peasants. The C.C. adopted Lenin's historic resolution on the armed uprising. Kamenev and Zinoviev alone acted as cowards and opposed this resolution. The Party took Lenin's line, making his resolution the keystone of its practical activities. A Political Bureau headed by Lenin was elected at this meeting to assume political leadership of the uprising.

On October 16 Lenin again addressed an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee held jointly with representatives of workers' organisations. He was emphatic about the uprising being started immediately. The majority at the meeting supported Lenin. A Revolutionary Military Centre to direct the uprising was elected at this meeting, consisting of A. S. Bubnov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, Y. M. Sverdlov, J. V. Stalin and M. S. Uritsky.

Lenin vigorously rejected all arguments in favour of postponing the uprising. The bourgeoisie, he said, would take advantage of this delay to smash the revolutionary forces. He had secret meetings with Party workers and military leaders and checked what progress was being made in the preparations for the coming battles. He supervised the military and technical preparations for the uprising, and gave advice and instructions. The uprising claimed all his thoughts and attention. "Ilyich thought of nothing else," Krupskaya wrote in her reminiscences. "His mood and his deep conviction communicated themselves to his com-

rades." He was the real guiding spirit and organiser of the uprising.

Under the leadership of Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party, systematic preparations for the uprising were started all over the country. The C.C. sent letters and concrete directives to the local areas. The Bolshevik conferences that were being held at this time in Petrograd and Moscow voted for Lenin's resolutions. Similar resolutions were adopted at thirty-odd regional, gubernia and district conferences. The Party was preparing for the decisive struggle for the power of the Soviets. Members of the Central Committee were sent out to the local areas to help the Party organisations prepare for the armed uprising. With extraordinary energy and confidence Lenin rallied the Party ranks and prepared them for battle. Always in the very midst of the masses, in the lead at their struggle, the Party was able to rally the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers into a united army of the revolution.

Defeated by the Party, Kamenev and Zinoviev perpetrated a piece of perfidious betrayal. They published in the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) a statement on their disagreement with the Central Committee on the question of an armed uprising, thereby disclosing the Party's secret decision to its enemies. The Provisional Government lost no time in taking urgent steps to prevent the armed uprising.

Lenin with anger and contempt branded the traitors, and demanded that they be severely censured and expelled from the Party. "I should

consider it disgraceful on my part if I were to hesitate to condemn these former comrades because of my earlier close relations with them. I declare outright that I no longer consider either of them comrades and that I will fight with all my might, both in the Central Committee and at the congress, to secure the expulsion of both of them from the Party." The C.C., however, did not expel Kamenev and Zinoviev, but forbade them to speak on behalf of the Party.

Trotsky did not come out openly against the resolution of the C.C. on the armed uprising, but insisted on having it put off until the convocation of the Second Congress of Soviets which was tantamount to obstructing the uprising. Lenin strongly opposed this position. "...To 'wait' for the Congress of Soviets would be *utter idiocy,* or *sheer treachery,*" he wrote.

Lenin emphatically demanded that the armed uprising should begin before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets, which was scheduled for October 25, and thus forestall the counter-revolutionary forces, who were preparing that day to deal the revolution a decisive blow. N. I. Podvoisky wrote in his reminiscences: "Vladimir Ilyich was in a great hurry to start the revolution, and insistently demanded the most energetic and resolute action, the quick occupation of all the city's key points." The counter-revolutionaries attacked first to forestall the uprising of the revolutionary forces. But the Party was on its guard. Early in the morning, when the Provisional Government was making an attempt to close

down *Rabochy Put*, the Party's Central Organ, the Red Guards and soldiers, on orders from the Revolutionary Military Centre, took the newspaper premises under their protection and posted guards around the Smolny Institute, which housed the headquarters of the uprising.

On receiving information that the government intended to raise the bridges across the Neva and thereby divide the revolutionary forces of the workers, dealing with them piecemeal, Lenin decided to go to the Smolny. Late on the night of October 24, at great risk to his life, Lenin made his way to the Smolny through the deserted streets of Petrograd, which were being patrolled by Cossacks* and cadets, and took over direct leadership of the uprising. "The Smolny was brightly lit up, a scene of intense activity," Krupskaya writes. "Red Guards, representatives from the factories and soldiers came from all over to receive instructions." Orders to start the uprising were sent out to the factories and mills, the Party locals and the army units. Red Guard detachments started to occupy the various points as arranged by plan. The approaches to the city were guarded by sailors of the Baltic Fleet and revolutionary units, and the factories and mills by Red Guards.

The uprising was carried out with true military precision and skill, in full accord with Lenin's instructions. The fighting units acted with a high degree of organisation, discipline and co-ordina-

* *Cossacks*—a privileged military caste in tsarist Russia which the autocracy used in the struggle against the revolutionary movement.—*Ed.*

tion. All through the night Lenin received reports on the progress of the uprising, and issued instructions.

By the morning of October 25 (November 7) the central telephone exchange, the telegraph office, the wireless station, the bridges across the Neva, the railway stations and all the important government offices of the capital had been occupied by the insurgent workers, soldiers and sailors.

In his guidance of the uprising Lenin's genius as a leader of the masses, a wise and fearless strategist who clearly saw what direction the revolution would take, was strikingly revealed. "During these days of the great upheaval," related a participant in the uprising, "Lenin was animated, gay, kindled by some kind of special inner fire, unflinching, confident and firm." The leadership given by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the valiant struggle and heroism of the workers of the Red Guard, the soldiers and sailors, ensured the success of one of the greatest events in world history—the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists.

In the morning the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies issued a manifesto written by Lenin "To the Citizens of Russia". It announced that the Provisional Government had been deposed, that state power had passed into the hands of the Soviets, and that the cause for which the people had fought had been won. At 2.30 p.m. the Petrograd Soviet held its historic meeting.

Lenin's appearance in the hall evoked scenes of tumultous enthusiasm. He delivered a passionate speech on the victory of the socialist revolution and the tasks confronting the Soviet power, and expressed confidence that socialism in Russia would triumph. "From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins," he said, "and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism."

On the night of October 25 Lenin ordered the immediate capture of the Winter Palace, where the ministers of the Provisional Government were gathered. The signal for the assault of the Winter Palace was given by the historic shot from the cruiser *Aurora*. The revolutionary units took the palace by storm. The last bulwark of the bourgeois government had fallen.

The Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, led the people of Russia to their great victory. The victory of October was the triumph of Leninism, a result of the hard painstaking work, the heroic intense struggle, which the Bolshevik Leninists carried on in the course of many years. The October Socialist Revolution demonstrated to the peoples of the whole world what a mighty force the working class and the poor peasants were when led by the revolutionary Marxist party.

It was a genuine revolution of the people. It put an end to the bourgeois order in Russia once and for all, and for the first time in human history established the dictatorship of the proletariat, created a state of the workers and peasants. The October Revolution was not merely a shift

of political power. It signified a profound socio-economic upheaval in the lives of the peoples of Russia. It marked the beginning of a revolutionary reconstruction of the country—the building of a new socialist society.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution turned a new page in the history of mankind, ushered in the era of the downfall of imperialism and the triumph of socialism and communism.

Founder of the World's First Socialist State

On the evening of October 25 (November 7) the Second Congress of Soviets opened in the Smolny. It was attended by 650 delegates, including some 400 Bolsheviks, who had arrived from all parts of the country. The congress proclaimed that all power had passed to the Soviets. This was a great historic event.

Lenin's speech at the congress on October 26 was received with great enthusiasm. "When Lenin appeared on the rostrum," says A. A. Andreyev, who was a delegate to this congress, "the entire hall rose and surged towards the platform on which he stood. He could not begin his speech for a long time because of the applause and the shouts of 'Long Live Lenin!' " Besides the delegates, the hall was packed to overflowing with workers, soldiers and sailors. People stood

up on window-sills, on the ledges of the columns and on chairs to get a glimpse of Lenin on the platform. Hats and sailors' caps were tossed into the air and rifles were raised aloft. Lenin's speech on peace was made to a standing audience. In it the leader of the proletarian revolution proposed the adoption of an appeal to the peoples and governments of all the belligerent countries calling for an immediate armistice.

On Lenin's motion, the congress adopted the Decree on Peace, dealing with the most momentous issue agitating the minds of the millions. This was the first act of the Soviet government's peaceful foreign policy—the antithesis of the predatory policy pursued by the imperialist bourgeoisie. From the very first day of the new socialist state, its foreign policy was placed at the service of peace and friendship among all nations. The Decree declared war to be the greatest crime against humanity.

The Decree on Peace was of great historic significance.

Lenin then delivered a report on the land and read out his draft decree. The circumstances in which it came to be written are described. in the reminiscences of V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, at whose flat it was drafted. Lenin had not slept for two days. He had been directing the uprising. With the Winter Palace captured, the ministers of the Provisional Government arrested, and the Second Congress of Soviets opened, Lenin left the Smolny and went to Bonch-Bruyevich's flat to snatch a few hours sleep. But he could not fall asleep—

he was to address the congress the next day. And so late in the night, we find him quietly leaving his bed, taking care not to wake anybody, and tiptoeing to the writing table, where he writes the Decree on Land. The pen moves swiftly over the paper. It has all been thought out beforehand. Day was breaking over the city when Lenin finished the draft of his historic decree.

The Decree on Land abolished landownership for all time and without compensation, and turned the land over to the people. Over 150 million hectares of land passed into the hands of the peasantry. The age-old dream for which the peasants had been fighting was at last realised. Under Lenin's decree private ownership of the land was replaced by public, state ownership, which was later to facilitate the remodelling of agriculture on socialist lines. The congress adopted the Decree on Land amid stormy applause. A peasant delegate from Tver Gubernia made a speech of thanks to Lenin, whom he described as the staunchest champion of the poor peasants.

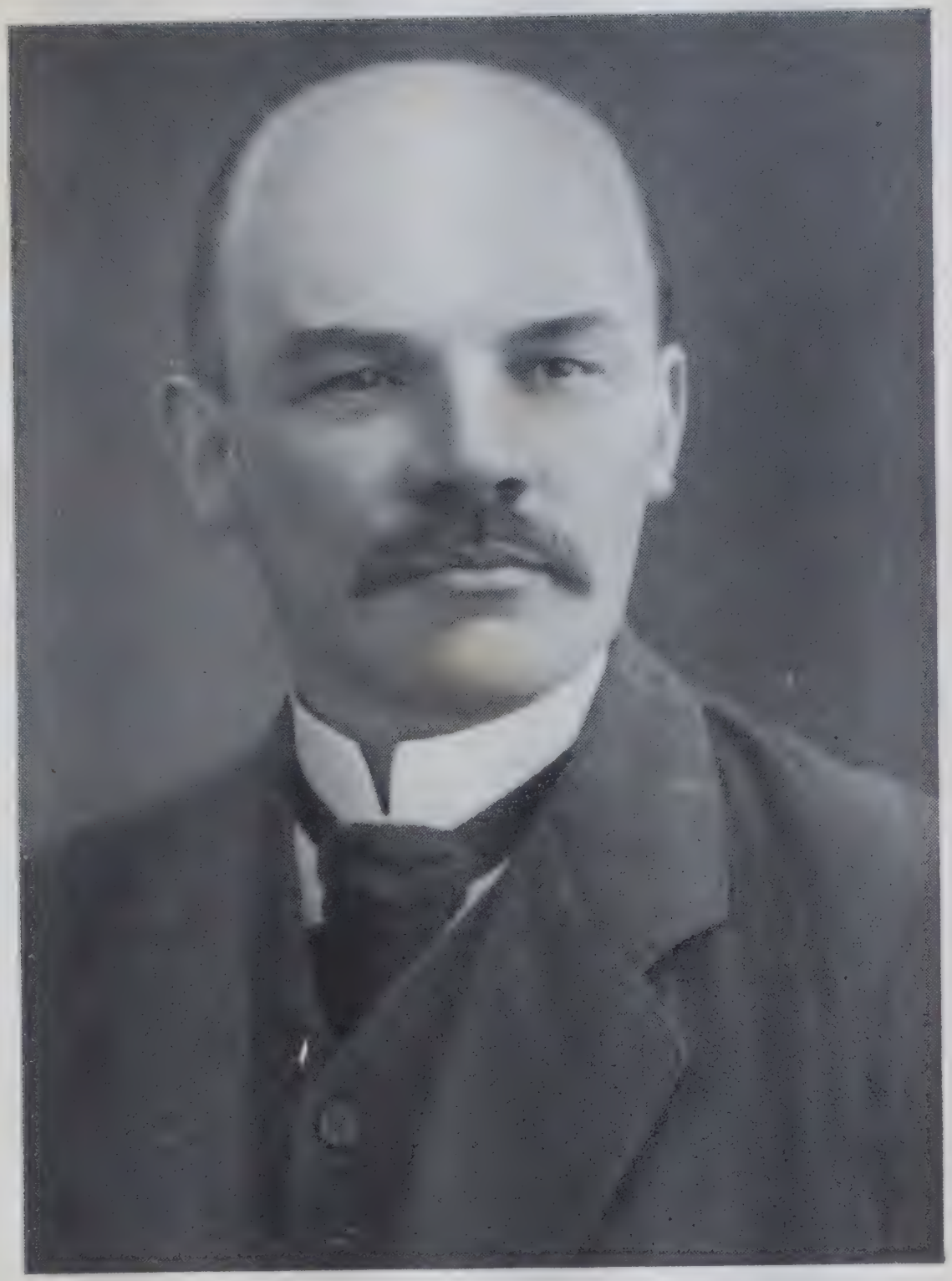
The Second Congress of Soviets elected an All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and formed a government—the Council of People's Commissars, of which Lenin was elected Chairman. The people entrusted the leadership of the country to the Bolshevik Party, which had always courageously and consistently defended their interests. The elected representatives of the people—the delegates to the Congress of Soviets—set

up the world's first workers' and peasants' government with Lenin at its head.

At that period of preparation for the revolution and its practical realisation, Lenin appeared before the world as a great Marxist theoretician, a wise leader of the Communist Party and a supreme strategist of revolution.

Having taken over the reins of government, the Bolshevik Party fulfilled its obligations to the people: it proclaimed peace, and gave the people freedom and the land. But the power of the working class had to be preserved and consolidated. From the very first day of the October victory all Lenin's thoughts, actions, will and energy were concentrated on safeguarding and increasing the revolution's gains.

The workers and peasants set about building a new life under the most complicated and difficult conditions. The socialist revolution had been victorious in one country, an economically backward country at that, with a population consisting largely of small peasants. The war was still going on. It was ruining the country, dislocating the whole of the national economy. The numerous enemies of the Soviet power were organising conspiracies and revolts against it, engineering acts of sabotage and provocation, and spreading lies and slander. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and their followers had come out against the Party line. They supported the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in their demands that a government consisting of representatives from



V. I. Lenin.
Photo. 1910

Lenin disguised.
Photo. August 1917

Lenin addressing workers of the Putilov Plant. 1917.
From a painting by I. Brodsky

Lenin and Krupskaya among the peasants of the village of Kashino, Volokolamsk Uyezd, Moscow Region.
Photo. 1920

different parties be set up. Lenin condemned their conduct as a flagrant breach of Party discipline. They then announced their resignation from the Central Committee, and Rykov, Zinoviev and Nogin their resignation from the Government. In the message of the Central Committee "To All Party Members and to All the Working Classes of Russia" Lenin branded them as deserters and strikebreakers of the revolution. The capitulators were immediately replaced by people who were devoted to the cause of the working class.

It was necessary to break the resistance of the enemies, to organise a supply of food to the towns, restart the factories and mills and build up the new, Soviet state.

Lenin posed the task of drawing the broad masses of workers and peasants into active participation in socialist construction. He said it was time to scrap the bourgeois fiction that only the rich or an officialdom from the moneyed classes could govern the country.

One day some factory workers, who had been appointed to posts in a People's Commissariat, came to Lenin asking to be allowed to go back to their old jobs on the plea that they were unable to cope with their new posts. Lenin heard them out attentively, then said: "I have never been at the head of a state either, but the Party and the people entrusted this job to me and I have to justify their trust. I recommend that you do the same."

In November 1917 Lenin wrote an appeal "To the Population" to rally around the Soviets and

boldly take the reins of government into their own hands. In speeches at meetings and gatherings he constantly exhorted the masses to build the new life. "Socialism cannot be decreed from above," he wrote. He regarded the living creative effort of the masses as the most important factor in the construction of socialism.

The Soviet Government was housed in the Smolny. The place hummed with activity day and night. Instructions were issued from there and people flocked there from all over the country. Workers, soldiers, sailors and peasants came to Smolny. Peasant delegates from remote villages travelled to the capital—the community collecting what money it could for their journey—in order to see Lenin and talk to the head of their Government. Lenin received everyone who came to him, heard each one out attentively, made quick decisions, taught the workers and peasants and learned from them himself. He gave guidance to every aspect of life in the young Soviet Republic, nothing escaped him. He worked out all the basic problems of Party and state policy.

Radical political and economic reforms were carried out in the country within a short space of time. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government was the adoption of regulations drafted by Lenin introducing workers' control over production and distribution. Elected representatives of the workers and office employees were given the right to control all the activities of the given enterprise. This was the first step towards management of industry by the working class.

Decrees were passed demobilising the old army, doing away with the division of citizens into social estates, and abolishing the privileges of the propertied classes. The railways, the merchant fleet and the banks became state property, and all foreign trade passed into the hands of the state. Shortly afterwards the factories and mills were taken away from the big capitalists and declared public property. These measures of the Soviet government strikingly revealed the profoundly revolutionary, democratic essence of the new socialist system.

All the organs of the Soviet state, the People's Commissariats were set up under the direct supervision of Lenin. At his suggestion the following bodies were set up: the Supreme Economic Council—the first proletarian body for the planning and management of the national economy, a People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities, and an All-Russia Extraordinary Commission to Fight Counter-Revolution and Sabotage. Lenin drew up the "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People", which formed the basis of the first Soviet Constitution. It declared Russia a republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, and proclaimed equal rights for all her peoples. The Declaration laid firm foundation for the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the Land of Soviets.

All these measures had a powerful impact on the working masses among whom the Soviet power was winning increasing support.

The situation in the country, however, was very

difficult. The first thing to do was to put an end to the war. The war-weary soldiers were eager to go home. The bourgeois governments of Britain, France and the U.S.A. rejected peace talks with Germany despite repeated appeals by the Soviet Government. Lenin considered that, under the circumstances, the Soviet Government had no option but to negotiate a separate peace with Germany. The German imperialists agreed to negotiate, but dictated robber's terms. They demanded the annexation of a large part of Soviet territory.

The Party and the Government were faced with the alternative of accepting these onerous terms of peace or carrying on with the war. Lenin proposed signing a peace treaty. The country was utterly exhausted, and continuation of the war would have spelt the downfall of Soviet power. It was necessary, he explained, to make sacrifices, in order to save the Soviet Republic, end the war on all accounts and secure a respite, however brief, to strengthen Soviet power and preserve the gains of the proletarian revolution. The workers and peasants, he said, had to be given a rest from the horrors of the imperialist war, the national economy had to be restored, and a new workers' and peasants' army created, capable of defending the gains of the revolution.

The idea of concluding peace with Germany was opposed by the remnants of the deposed bourgeoisie, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, Trotsky and the so-called Left Communists—Bukharin, Bubnov, Lomov, Osinsky and others. The Left Communists demanded that the

peace talks be broken off, and called for a "revolutionary war" against Germany, although the strength for it was lacking. Lenin's line was thus opposed by both the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois parties, and some of the unstable Bolsheviks.

The situation in the Party was extremely difficult. Lenin took this very much to heart. He came out against the Left Communists and Trotsky in the press, and ridiculed and exposed the danger of "revolutionary phraseology". He called the attitude of the Left Communists adventurist and their behaviour "strange and monstrous" when they talked themselves into the statement that Soviet power could be sacrificed in the interests of the world revolution. He emphasised that the preservation and strengthening of the Soviet Republic was the best support that could be given to the world liberation movement of the working people.

The question of peace was repeatedly and hotly debated at meetings of the Party's Central Committee. At first the majority did not support Lenin, but then his proposal to conclude peace on the conditions set forth by Germany was adopted. Trotsky, who was appointed head of the Soviet peace talks delegation, disobeyed the instructions given by Lenin, the Central Committee and the Soviet Government: he refused to sign the terms proposed by Germany, and thus wrecked the peace talks. The behaviour of Trotsky and the Left Communists played into the hands of the German imperialists. Taking advantage of this the Ger-

man army in February 1918 launched an offensive. The imperialists sought to strangle Soviet power and turn Russia into a colony.

The Land of Soviets was in mortal danger. Lenin, the Communist Party, urgently set about organising its defence. On February 21, Lenin, on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars, wrote an impassioned appeal to the people "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!"

"It is the sacred duty of the workers and peasants of Russia," this document said, "devotedly to defend the Republic of Soviets against the hordes of bourgeois-imperialist Germany." The whole country, Lenin said, was to be geared for defence. The leader's appeal evoked a powerful revolutionary response among the working masses. Mass meetings of workers, peasants and soldiers were held in Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinburg and other cities and in the villages. At Lenin's call, at the call of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government, tens of thousands of workers and peasants volunteered to defend the socialist homeland. Detachments of the new army of the revolutionary people sprang up everywhere and heroically resisted the advancing enemy, who was repulsed near Narva and Pskov.

In memory of those days, the people of the Soviet Union now annually celebrate February 23 as the day of their armed forces.

The question of concluding peace became so acute and urgent that the Central Committee decided to convene a congress of the Party. Active preparations for it were started. Lenin's articles

urging the necessity of concluding peace were published in *Pravda* almost daily. The headings under which they appeared were so trenchant that they left no room for doubt against whom they were directed ("The Revolutionary Phrase", "The Itch", "Peace or War?", "An Unfortunate Peace", "A Painful but Necessary Lesson"). These articles were reprinted from *Pravda* by the local Party and Soviet newspapers, and brought to the knowledge of the whole country.

The Seventh Congress of the Party opened in Petrograd on March 6, 1918. It was the first Party congress to be held since the Great October Socialist Revolution. The congress was chaired by Lenin, who took the floor eighteen times. In the C.C.'s political report delivered by him he proved incontestably that it was necessary to sign the Brest Peace Treaty.

The congress, by a majority of votes, approved Lenin's line and adopted the resolution "On War and Peace", which stressed the fact that peace with Germany was necessary for Soviet Russia. The congress called for vigilance and revolutionary discipline on the part of the working people and the Party, for the creation of organisations capable of rallying the masses in defence of the socialist country, since further attacks by the imperialists were inevitable. The congress expressed ardent faith in the victory of the workers' revolution in all countries and pledged that the proletariat of Russia would support the fraternal revolutionary movement throughout the world.

On Lenin's report the congress adopted his

draft resolution renaming the Party. It was henceforth to be called the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The name Communist, Lenin said, "indicates sufficiently clearly that we are advancing towards complete communism".

The congress also decided to draft a new programme for the Party. The first programme, adopted at the Second Congress in 1903, had been carried out—the power of the tsar, the landowners and the capitalists had been overthrown. A new programme was needed in which the tasks of socialist construction would be defined. A special commission headed by Lenin was elected to draw up the new programme.

Withdrawal from the war gave the working class and peasants of the Soviet Republic the breathing space they needed to strengthen Soviet power and develop the socialist revolution. The highest credit for this goes to Lenin. It was his wisdom, his steadfast adherence to principles and his iron will that ensured enforcement of the only correct policy under the circumstances. The signing of the Brest Peace Treaty was a striking example of the flexibility of Lenin's tactics, his ability to give ground when necessary, in order to gain time and muster strength for victory in coming battles.

On March 11, 1918, the Government moved to Moscow, which had become the Soviet capital. The Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee were housed in the Kremlin. Lenin took up his quarters there as well.

The conclusion of peace had to be sanctioned by the country's supreme organ of power. The Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which met in Moscow on March 14, 1918, adopted a resolution, drafted by Lenin, ratifying the peace treaty in the face of fierce resistance on the part of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. The latter raised a revolt against the Soviet power. Determined at all costs to torpedo the peace treaty with Germany, the Left S.-R.s in Moscow assassinated the German Ambassador Mirbach. The Soviet Government was thereby placed in a very difficult position. The Party and the Government, however, found the strength to crush the counter-revolutionary revolt of the Left S.-R.s and prevent the peace from being broken. The development of the world liberation movement after the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty bore out Lenin's wise approach and scientific foresight. In November 1918 a revolution broke out in Germany and this predatory treaty became invalid.

Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, and the Government hastened to take advantage of the peaceful respite to strengthen Soviet power and launch socialist construction. This was no easy task.

With the rule of the landowners and capitalists overthrown, the people were faced with a task which no other country in the world had ever tackled before. They had to build up a new machinery of state, put the economy on its feet, learn to administer the country. The workers and peasants were now masters of the factories and the land, but not all of them realised that public

and state property had to be taken care of and augmented.

How to re-educate the masses in the spirit of socialism, how to teach them to work the new way—these were problems that absorbed Lenin completely. Being in the thick of things himself and dealing daily with a mass of urgent practical problems, Lenin mapped out the general line of socialist construction in Russia and laid down the basic principles of Soviet foreign and domestic policy. On April 29, 1918, he made a report on the immediate tasks of the Soviet government at a meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. In his report and pamphlet on the subject Lenin revealed the causes that had led up to the victory of the October Revolution, set the task of remodelling Russia's economy on socialist lines, showed the difficulties standing in the way of the new society, and urged the workers to learn how to organise production. The creation of a new, socialist economy, Lenin taught, was the principal task. "This is the most difficult task," he wrote, "because it is a matter of organising in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most gratifying task, because only *after* it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia *has become* not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic."

There was plenty of organising talent among the people, among the workers and peasants, Lenin said. Capitalism had stifled and wasted it.

These people had to be discovered, helped to find their feet and given a chance to unfold.

Lenin spoke with contempt of those toadies of the bourgeoisie—the Mensheviks, who refused to believe in the creative capabilities of the masses and who slandered the Soviet power. Alluding to Krylov's fable, he wrote: "Let the lap-dogs of bourgeois society . . . squeal and yelp about every extra chip that is sent flying in cutting down the big, old wood. What else are lap-dogs for if not to yelp at the proletarian elephant? Let them yelp. We shall go our way. . . ."

Lenin pointed out that it was necessary to organise accounting and control of production and distribution. He put forward in clear-cut explicit terms the slogan: "Keep regular and honest accounts of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labour discipline. . . ." He urged the workers to raise the productivity of labour, to develop large-scale industry, to increase the output of fuel, iron and machines, and also to raise the educational and cultural level of the masses, improve discipline and increase efficiency. He pointed out that raising the productivity of labour would be a long and difficult job. Lenin's advice and instructions were of great importance in building socialism. They are important today, too, when the Soviet people are building communism.

Lenin attached particular importance to the organisation and widespread practice of socialist emulation. Socialism, he said, made it possible for the first time to introduce emulation on

a wide scale. He taught that socialism was created by the people themselves, that it released inexhaustible well-springs of talent and inspired the millions of working men and women to make history.

The Communist Party's efforts to implement Lenin's plan of socialist construction were made under exceptionally adverse conditions. In the summer of 1918 the country was in the grip of an acute food crisis. The kulaks and profiteers hoarded their grain in the hope of crushing the revolution through starvation. Lenin wrote: "This struggle seems to be only a struggle for bread, but as a matter of fact it is a struggle for socialism."

The Party called on the workers to campaign in the villages. "Comrades, workers," Lenin wrote, "remember that the revolution is in a critical situation! Remember that *you alone* can save the revolution, nobody else can."

Tens of thousands of advanced workers, chiefly from Petrograd, formed food detachments and went out to the villages in response to the call of Lenin and the Party. In June 1918 Lenin signed a decree setting up Committees of Poor Peasants. These committees became a bulwark of the Soviet state in fighting the kulaks and supplying the towns and the army with bread. All this strengthened the Soviets in the villages and helped to win the middle peasants over to the side of the Soviet government.

In July 1918 the Fifth Congress of Soviets adopted the first Constitution of the Russian Re-

public, in which the gains of the socialist revolution were consecrated by law. "The world has never known such a constitution as ours," Lenin said. "It embodies the workers' experience of struggle and organisation against the exploiters both at home and abroad."

Lenin Leads the Country's Defence

The peaceful respite was shortlived. The foreign imperialists and the deposed bourgeoisie and landowners refused to accept the victory of the workers and peasants of Russia. They understood that a revolutionary conflagration had started that might spread to other countries. The capitalists of Britain, France and the U.S.A. did not want to lose the thousands of millions they had loaned to the Russian tsar, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. They did not want to lose the huge profits which the exploitation of Russia's natural wealth had been pouring into their pockets.

In the spring of 1918 American, British and French troops seized Murmansk. Japanese, British and later American soldiers landed in Vladivostok. The imperialists started war against the Land of Soviets in an effort to crush the new-born socialist state by armed force. The deposed landowners and capitalists with the help of the foreign interventionists started a civil war.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people rose in defence of their republic. Lenin regarded

this defence as the highest internationalist duty towards the world revolutionary movement on the part of the Soviet Republic.

The strain under which Lenin worked during the years of foreign military intervention and civil war defies description. Under his direct leadership strategic plans were drawn up and the Red Army became steeled in battle. He dealt with such problems as reinforcements, fighting efficiency of the troops, and the supply of food, clothing and weapons.

The proletarian army was in need of commanders of its own. At Lenin's suggestion, special courses were organised and a system of military training for commanders was worked out. The core of this command personnel was formed by workers and revolutionary peasants. The Communist Party and its great leader Lenin reared such outstanding Red Army commanders as M. V. Frunze, K. Y. Voroshilov, S. M. Budyonny, V. K. Blücher, M. N. Tukhachevsky, G. I. Kotovsky, A. Y. Parkhomenko, V. I. Chapayev, N. A. Shchors and many other heroes of the Civil War.

At the same time Lenin was for freely enlisting the services of the old military specialists. He believed that in military matters their rich experience should be drawn on. The young commanders received their military training from the old specialists. An important role in the training of fighting men for the Red Army was played by the military commissars, through whose medium the Party conducted political work in the army.

Lenin went into every detail of all the major problems connected with the country's defence. From his workroom in the Kremlin he sent out orders, instructions and directives to all parts of the country. He would often telephone late at night to one or other executive to enquire whether such-and-such a unit had been dispatched to the front, whether it had been provided with food, weapons and everything else it required. Denying himself rest and sleep, he followed the progress of military operations and took all steps to ensure victory. He summoned commanders to his office and questioned them on the situation at the front and the army's needs. Lenin called upon the people to give every possible help to the army. All our difficulties and hardships, he wrote, were nothing as compared with the lot of the Red Army man, who was shedding his blood to defend the workers' and peasants' state.

Notwithstanding the imperialists' superiority in strength and the incredible difficulties—the acute shortage of food, clothing, weapons and ammunition—Lenin was firmly convinced that the new social order would win the day. And he imbued the people with his own confidence. Almost every day, and sometimes several times a day, he addressed mass meetings of workers and Red Army men, spoke at congresses, at factories and mills.

Every Communist, the whole country, was conscious of Lenin's iron will and lucid revolutionary thought. The leader's ardent speeches, his unshakable confidence in the triumph of the just

cause, heartened the workers and peasants, rallied them, and inspired them with faith in ultimate victory.

The powerful effect of Lenin's speeches is described by A. G. Panyunin, an employee of the Moscow Dynamo Works. "After hearing his stirring words I felt ready to plunge straight into battle," he wrote. "Hungry, barefoot, ragged but filled with enthusiasm and confidence, we drank in his every word."

Lenin showed concern for the people's spiritual growth, for giving them access to culture. Speaking at the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January 1918 he said that in the old days, under capitalism, all the benefits of technology and culture were available only to the rich, whereas the working people were barely able to read or write. From now on, he said, all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belonged to the whole nation.

Lenin's friends and relatives tell how attentively he followed the progress of Soviet literature, which had just come into being. Lenin read and reread the works of Bedny, Serafimovich and Gorky, and made use of their writings in his own works and speeches. He was all for popularising their writings widely among the people.

Lenin worked at high pressure. His only relaxation was a stroll about the Kremlin or an occasional Sunday trip with his wife and his sister Maria to Sparrow Hills (now Lenin Hills) or some other suburb of Moscow.

In the meantime, the counter-revolutionaries

Lenin in Red Square. November 7, 1919.
Photo

Lenin in his study in the Kremlin.
Photo. 1918

Lenin in Gorki.
Photo 1922

At the Lenin Mausoleum.
Photo

within the country, financed and incited by the imperialists, were hatching conspiracies against the Soviet Government and plotting the assassination of Lenin and his associates. On August 30, 1918, a Socialist-Revolutionary named Kaplan made a dastardly attempt on Lenin's life. She fired at him point-blank, severely wounding him. The bullets had been poisoned, and Lenin's life hung by a thread. Doctors kept day-and-night vigil at his bedside in the Kremlin.

The Party and the whole country anxiously awaited news of their leader's health. Enquiries poured in to Moscow from all over the land day and night. When Lenin began to recover the people's joy knew no bounds. He received thousands of greetings from workers and peasants. In September 1918 *Pravda* wrote: "Lenin is fighting his illness. He will conquer it! For so wills the proletariat. Such is its command to Destiny!" The peasants of Pankovo Volost wrote: "Comrade Lenin, we send you our fraternal greetings. Hurry up and get well for our sake and to spite the imperialists." On September 12, the Red Army liberated Simbirsk and the men of the First Army wired Lenin: "Dear Vladimir Ilyich, we have avenged one of your wounds by taking your home town, and shall take Samara to avenge the other." To which Lenin replied: "The capture of Simbirsk, my home town, is a wonderful tonic, the best treatment for my wounds. I feel a new lease of life and energy. Congratulations to the Red Army men on their victory, and, on behalf of all working people, thanks for all their

sacrifices." As soon as he had recovered from his wounds he resumed leadership of the Party and the country.

In the winter of 1918-19 fighting broke out with renewed intensity. The imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain, France and Japan massed large forces against Soviet Russia. They landed troops in the North, in Odessa and the Crimea, in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and the Far East. Over a million soldiers, armed to the teeth, surrounded the Soviet Republic on all sides. The imperialists aided the whiteguard generals, first and foremost Kolchak. In the spring of 1919 Kolchak's army launched an offensive.

The people, led by the Party, stiffened their resistance to the enemies of the October Revolution. "*Help the Eastern Front!*", was Lenin's call. Twenty thousand Communists, several thousand Young Communist League members and over 60,000 workers, trade union members, responded to the call of the Communist Party and set off for the front.

Lenin did not conceal the difficulties, he always told the people the truth, and taught the Party to do the same. The Communists went to the factories, mines and villages and told people about the critical position the Soviet Republic was in, calling upon the workers and peasants, the soldiers and sailors, to strengthen and defend their Soviet power. They went to the most dangerous sections of the front, where they inspired the men to deeds of valour by personal example. The staunchness of the Communist Party, the

level-headed coolness which it maintained during those grim days, its unshakable confidence in victory, brought it still closer to the masses. To wage a winning war, Lenin said, a strong organised home front was essential. The best army in the world would be destroyed if it did not have the support of the people. The army had to be armed, fed and clothed. And this was the job of the home front. Lenin and the Party constantly called for aid to the army in the field.

The workers and all the labouring masses responded to the leader's call by heroic efforts on the labour front. Beginning with the spring of 1919, subbotniks (volunteer work without pay for the benefit of the state), first initiated by Moscow's railwaymen, were organised all over the country. In his article, "A Great Beginning", Lenin described these subbotniks as an event of historic significance, as the actual beginning of a communist attitude to labour. Communism, he said, begins where the rank-and-file workers start to show an interest in increasing labour productivity, in taking care of every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products belonging to the community as a whole. Lenin himself took part in a subbotnik organised in the Kremlin on May 1, 1920.

Lenin called upon the workers to increase labour productivity in every possible way. "In the last analysis," he wrote, "productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system."

The Soviet Republic had to defend itself against the invasion of fourteen countries. Every-

thing had to be geared to the task of defeating the forces of intervention and internal counter-revolution. Wartime regulations were introduced in industry and transport, as well as in the army and navy. To supply the army and the workers. the Soviet Government was obliged to employ stringent measures in distributing the country's meagre food stocks. A surplus-requisitioning system was introduced under which the peasants had to deliver surplus grain to the state to feed the army and the workers. Being as it was in the position of a besieged fortress, the Soviet Republic could not hold out otherwise, Lenin said. Universal labour service was introduced and food was issued only to those who worked. An economic policy known as War Communism, a temporary measure necessitated by the war and economic ruin, was adopted.

At the height of the struggle against the foreign interventionists and the internal counter-revolution, the Eighth Congress of the Party was convened. It opened on March 18, 1919 on Paris Commune Day. The Russian proletariat had fulfilled what the Communards had dreamt of and fought for. This created a spirit of elation among the congress delegates and inspired them with confidence in the victory of the socialist revolution in other countries. Lenin delivered reports on the work of the Central Committee, the programme of the Party and the work in the countryside. The Soviet state, Lenin pointed out, was consistently pursuing a policy of peace. But the bourgeois states were waging a furious struggle

against the Soviet Republic. It was necessary therefore to strengthen the country's defensive power.

The report on the work in the countryside was largely devoted to the question of the attitude to the middle peasants. The working class had carried out the October Socialist Revolution together with the poor peasantry. The farm labourers and poor peasants gave unqualified support to the Soviet government. The bulk of the rural population, however, was made up of middle peasants. Many of them had adopted a wait-and-see attitude. In the autumn of 1918 the middle peasants had begun to turn towards the Soviets. Lenin noted this as an important fact. Now, he stated at the congress, the time had come to form a strong alliance with the middle peasants. Without this alliance, he said, it would be impossible to build socialism. On the basis of Lenin's report the congress adopted a resolution calling for a policy of close alliance with the middle peasants.

The Party's policy aimed at strengthening the alliance of the working class and the middle peasantry while relying on the peasant poor for the purpose of combating the kulaks was a decisive factor in the successful outcome of the Civil War, in the defeat of the imperialists and whiteguards, and in the building of socialism.

The Eighth Congress adopted a new programme of the Party. Drawn up by a committee headed by Lenin, the new programme defined the tasks of the Communist Party throughout the transition period from capitalism to socialism. In

his report, Lenin emphasised that the programme rested on a scientific foundation, that it was realistic and served the working class and the Party as a guide in building up the new socialist society.

The programme was unanimously adopted amid scenes of great enthusiasm. Here, for the first time in history, was a programme of a Communist Party that was in power. Speaking of the international significance of the new programme, Lenin said:

"Our programme will serve as extremely effective material for propaganda and agitation; it is a document which will lead the workers to say, 'Here are our comrades, our brothers; here our common cause is becoming reality'."

Occupied as he was with the vast job of building up the Soviet state and the country's defence, Lenin nevertheless found time to receive numerous delegations of workers and peasants, and representatives of fraternal communist parties. He was always thoughtful and considerate in his attitude towards the people he worked with and the rank-and-file Party members. He showed a solicitous interest in people. It was with loving care that he drew up measures for establishing sanatoriums where the working people could rest, and for improving the work of schools and children's institutions. He taught all Party and government workers the same solicitous attitude towards the people.

V. A. Karpinsky, the veteran Communist, wrote: "Vladimir Ilyich had a rare human quality

that set him apart from everyone else: it was his extraordinary thoughtfulness, responsiveness, tact, simplicity and modesty not only in his relations with his comrades—whether a member of the C.C. or a rank-and-file Party member—but with people in general, whether a celebrity or an office-cleaner."

The working people repaid Lenin with a similar warm affection. Thousands of greetings addressed to the great leader of the working people poured in daily. The workers of the Stodol Mill in Klintsy sent Lenin a letter and the gift of a length of cloth. They wrote that they had named their mill after him and asked him to have a suit made from the cloth they had woven with their own hands.

Lenin answered, deeply moved:

"Dear comrades,

I thank you most heartily for your greetings and your gift. I will tell you as a secret that you ought not to send me any gifts. I earnestly request you to spread this secret among the workers as widely as possible.

Please accept my best thanks, greetings and wishes.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)."

Early in 1919 a peasant named Ivanov came to see Lenin. On returning home he reported at a meeting of the Volost Executive Committee that Lenin had approved the E.C.'s policy and sent his greetings and heartfelt thanks. Ivanov mentioned, among other things, that Lenin worked in

an unheated room. Whereupon the Milinovo Volost Executive Committee passed a resolution "to send Comrade Lenin a carload of firewood at the expense of the E.C., and if need be, to send a tinsmith to install an iron stove in his office". This was an expression of the touching concern that the people showed for their leader.

Lenin often spoke at meetings, where he called upon the people to build a new life and taught them how to do it. He addressed meetings of metalworkers, miners, railwaymen and millhands. He spoke simply and to the point. His speeches gripped the audience with the force of their passionate conviction and steadfast faith in the power of the working people. A. A. Nikishin, a Baku oil worker, who together with other workers had been received by Lenin, related: "We came out of the Kremlin and began to compare notes. We had expected Vladimir Ilyich to speak of extraordinary things in extraordinary language. But he said the most ordinary things in the simplest language.... It was easy to see that Vladimir Ilyich lived his life through ours, that he knew all about us, had studied our possibilities, knew our bottleneck sections and frankly pointed them out. He amazed us all by his remarkable simplicity, his extraordinary warmth, and after we had been with him for five minutes we felt like old friends and were completely at our ease. There was no strain, everything was simple, natural and easy. It was this simplicity, this charm of manner that one appreciated in Vladimir Ilyich, the leader, teacher and friend of the work-

ing class!" "Our Ilyich," the workers and peasants affectionately called him.

Lenin had unbounded faith in the creative powers of the people. "It is from this firmness of the working class and toiling masses that, like every Communist, I draw my confidence in the inevitable world victory of the workers and the workers' cause," Lenin wrote. He wanted to see the rank-and-file workers and peasants drawn into Party, government, and trade union activities on a wide scale. He made a strong point of having women drawn into public activities. When millions of women took part in public life, he said, the cause of building socialism would be put on a firm footing. He frequently addressed meetings and conferences of women workers and peasants, and told them of the downtrodden, humiliating lot of working women in capitalist society. He pointed out that Soviet power had done more for women in a short time than all the bourgeois republics in the world had done in a hundred years, and he urged women to take an active part in defending and building up the socialist state.

A. Serafimovich, the author, recalls that on one occasion, when commenting on the magazine *Tvorchestvo,* Lenin asked him: "But tell me this—why don't you have anything to say about the life of the Soviet woman, the peasant woman. After all, in the newly remodelled state, the socialist state, she plays a tremendous role. She is stepping into the broad arena of public activity for the first time. Look how keen women are,

even in the villages, to study and get an education. In a few years' time we shall have our woman doctors, our woman agronomists, woman engineers, woman scientists, woman statesmen. Yes," he resumed after a thoughtful pause, "we've got to write about our women. The way life progresses with us depends a great deal upon them."

Lenin was a friend of the youth. He closely followed the youth movement and helped it adopt a correct political stand. On his advice the Party entrusted the political education of the youth to its leading Communists. Under his guidance the Young Communist League, the Komsomol, was created. It now bears the honourable title of Leninist Komsomol. Lenin received a delegation of the First Congress of the Komsomol, which was held in October 1918. In the autumn of 1920 he addressed the Third Congress of the Komsomol on "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues". The congress met at a time when heavy fighting was in progress against whiteguard general Wrangel. The delegates related that they had expected from Lenin a report on the international and internal situation. The tasks of the Youth Leagues seemed obvious enough: to fight and rout the bourgeoisie. Instead Lenin called upon the young people to study, study and study. He explained to them in clear and simple terms that they had to acquire knowledge in order to build communism. Communism, he told them, could be built only on the basis of science, on the basis of the knowledge accumulated by all mankind. And this knowledge had to be combined with productive

labour in industry and applied in agriculture. Without this, he said, communism could not be built. To be a member of the Young Communist League meant devoting all one's energies to the common cause. Every day, in every town and every village, the young people, together with the workers and peasants, were to deal practically with one or another task of common labour, no matter how small or simple. "The Young Communist League," he said, "should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labour from an early age."

Lenin unfolded before the young people the lofty principles of communist ethics. Communist morality, he said, was founded on the struggle to build a communist society. Devotion to the cause of communism, a lifetime dedicated to the struggle for the happiness of the working people, love of one's country, internationalism, irreconcilability to the enemies of communism, collectivism—this is what went to shape the moral character of the man of the new society.

Lenin's speech inspired the youth to deeds of heroism in the battlefield and selfless labour on the home front. His advice and instructions to the youth have lost none of their significance to this day, in the period of communist construction.

Devoting all his energies to the task of strengthening Soviet power, fighting the foreign interventionists and whiteguards, and educating the masses in the spirit of communism, Lenin drew upon the rich revolutionary experience of the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party,

and applied the revolutionary theory he had worked out in the new conditions to help the international working-class movement and organise the Communist International. In the latter half of 1918 communist parties were formed in Germany, Austria, Finland, Hungary and Poland. In January 1919 Lenin called upon the workers of Europe and America to establish a Third International. In March 1919 the First Congress of the Third, Communist International was held in Moscow. Its work was directed by Lenin. He made a report on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and spoke about Soviet power and the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leaders of the Second International had distorted Marxist teachings. They were opposed to proletarian dictatorship. Lenin exposed them for what they were—henchmen of the bourgeoisie. A powerful blow at opportunism was dealt by Lenin in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, written in October 1918.

V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich writes in his reminiscences that Lenin worked on this book with special enthusiasm. "He was literally aflame with anger", "he spent whole days till late into the night, writing this extraordinarily powerful book".

Why was Lenin so angry? Whom was he up in arms against?

At the beginning of 1918, K. Kautsky, the ideologue of opportunism, issued a pamphlet entitled *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, in which he

distorted Marx's theory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, slandered the Soviet state and went out of his way to denigrate the activities of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin exposed Kautsky's betrayal of the interests of the working class and criticised him for refusing to accept the main tenet of Marxism—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin showed that Kautsky's attempts to present bourgeois democracy as "pure and non-class" democracy were untenable. So long as there exist different classes, he wrote, one can speak only of class democracy. Bourgeois democracy expresses the interests of an exploiter minority, whereas proletarian democracy "is a *million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy" and works in the interests of the absolute majority of the population—the working people. He cited the experience of the Soviet power in Russia to show that there was no government more democratic than the government of the working people. It was thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat that the Soviet people were successfully fighting the counter-revolution and the armed invasion of the imperialists, and were able to start building a new life. Lenin pointed out the tremendous international significance of the struggle of the working class and the peoples of Russia for socialism, a struggle in which the Communist Party, the working class and all the labouring people of the Soviet Republic were showing an example to all other peoples.

The First Congress inaugurated the Third, Communist International. The creation of the International was a great victory for Leninism. Lenin took part in the work of the other Comintern congresses as well: the Second in 1920, the Third in 1921, and the Fourth in 1922. He worked in the most important committees, spoke on the peasant and national questions, on the attitude to the oppressed nations, on the question of colonies, and the role and tactics of the communist parties. The major resolutions of the Comintern congresses were drafted by him.

Lenin laid particular stress on the importance of unity and solidarity among the workers' and communist parties of all countries, and pressed for strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

He met delegates to the Comintern congresses and discussed with them the working-class movement and the organisation of communist parties in their countries. These meetings and talks with Lenin played an important role in the lives of leaders of the fraternal communist parties, such as William Gallacher (Britain), Marcel Cachin (France), Antonin Zápotocký (Czechoslovakia), Christo Kabakchiev (Bulgaria) and many others.

In his letters to the leaders of the international communist and labour movement Lenin expressed his profound conviction in the inevitable victory of the world revolution, the victory of the new socialist democracy in all countries.

Lenin was an ardent patriot. He loved Russia, her people, culture, language and literature. At

the same time he was a great proletarian internationalist. He always linked the interests and tasks of the Bolshevik Party, the working class and the working masses of Russia, with those of the international labour and communist movement. He regarded the revolution in Russia as part of the world socialist revolution.

He hailed the establishment of Soviets in Hungary and Bavaria (in the spring of 1919) and supported Béla Kun, the leader of the Hungarian revolution. In a letter to Klara Zetkin he wrote: "We are all extremely glad that you, Comrade Mehring, and the other 'Spartacus comrades'* in Germany are with us, 'head and heart'."

He closely followed developments in the communist and socialist parties and actively supported the genuinely revolutionary elements within them, while at the same time criticising every kind of distortion and vulgarisation of Marxism. He considered it essential to develop contacts between the communist and other workers' parties and to keep each other informed of the situation within their parties and their activities, a practice which he himself invariably adhered to.

In order to bring the experience of the Russian Communists to the knowledge of the young communist parties in the various countries and pool this experience with them, Lenin in 1920 wrote his book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, in which he dealt with the

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* *Spartacus League*—a revolutionary organisation of German Left Social-Democrats who in 1919 formed the Communist Party of Germany.—*Ed.*

history of the formation, development, struggle and victories of the Bolshevik Party. He described how the Bolshevik Party had grown and matured, how and why it had been able to cope with its difficulties, and what lessons the other communist parties could derive from its rich experience.

The Bolshevik Party, Lenin wrote, had grown up and matured in the struggle against the opportunists, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and other enemies of the working class, enemies of Marxism. It had coped with enormous difficulties thanks to the iron discipline within its ranks, its close ties with the masses and the fact that it had invariably been guided by Marxist theory. While considering Right opportunism to be the chief danger in the working-class movement, Lenin sharply criticised the mistakes of the "Left" leaders in the communist parties, who misunderstood the role and tasks of the communist parties with regard to the masses, refused to work in bourgeois parliaments and the trade unions, and rejected the idea of any agreement or compromise with other parties. They substituted revolutionary words for revolutionary deeds. This was harmful and dangerous to the labour cause, to the entire world communist movement, and tended to isolate the Party from the masses. The leader of the world's proletariat pointed out that Communists should work wherever the masses were to be found. He taught flexibility in tactics, and warned against the dogmatic application of common maxims to concrete problems. He point-

ed out that in dealing with practical problems connected with the specific features of one or another country, one should never for a moment lose sight of the basic international task—that of overthrowing the power of the imperialists and building socialism and communism. His book helped the communist parties to rectify their mistakes, wage a more effective struggle against the enemies of the working class, and become battle-hardened Marxist parties capable of rallying the masses. Even today this book retains its enormous significance for the communist movement throughout the world.

Lenin's selfless struggle for the cause of the workers and peasants earned him the boundless love and trust of the working people all over the world. The international proletariat and Communists of all countries regarded him as their leader and teacher. Here are several entries in the album in which delegates to the Second Congress of the Comintern wrote their impressions of Lenin:

"The Russian proletariat has every right to be proud of Comrade Lenin and can consider it their good fortune that in a revolutionary era, when there was the greatest need for this, they had Lenin," wrote Antonin Zápotocký.

"Lenin, simplest, most human, and yet most far-seeing and immovable," wrote John Reed.

Delegates from the colonial and dependent countries wrote that Lenin had awakened in the hearts of the peoples of the East new hopes and showed them the way to happiness. "The most

noble representative of humanity," a delegate from India pithily expressed it.

The toiling masses and oppressed peoples of East and West lent an eager ear to Lenin. The Italian Communist, Germanetto, wrote that early in the 1920s Lenin's name was known even in the remotest villages of Italy. As a sign of their profound respect for him, some workers' families gave the name "Lenin" to their newborn children.

In the summer of 1919 the interventionists and whiteguards intensified their pressure on the Soviet Republic. Decisive battles against the united forces of the foreign interventionists and whiteguards were being fought out on the Civil War fronts. The imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Germany and Japan launched the whiteguard armies of generals Denikin and Yudenich and the surviving remnants of Kolchak's troops in an offensive against the Soviet Republic. As a result of this offensive thousands of towns and villages were ruined, the already crippled economy was further undermined and millions of people were killed and reduced to poverty. Once again the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, rallied the nation to repel the enemy, once again the masses rose to the defence of their Soviet homeland.

At this critical period Lenin proposed organising a special Party Week to draw new masses of advanced workers into the Party. At Lenin's call, thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers joined the Communist Party. Party Week clearly demonstrated that the people stood behind the

Communists, that the Party enjoyed the wholehearted support of the people. "The mass of the working people are with us. That is where our strength lies. That is the source of the invincibility of world communism," Lenin wrote in his article "The Workers' State and Party Week".

By the end of 1919 the Red Army had defeated the enemy on nearly all fronts and the country received a breathing-spell. Lenin and the Party immediately switched the greater part of the country's resources over to economic development, to restoring transport, the fuel and other key industries.

The drafting of a plan of economic development urgently called for the convocation of the next, Ninth Party Congress. The chief object of this congress was to map out the ways and means for a switchover from wartime struggle to a bloodless struggle on the home front, aimed at rehabilitating and developing the whole national economy.

The Ninth Congress of the Party opened in Moscow at the Bolshoi Theatre on March 29, 1920. The sittings lasted eight days, during which Lenin took the floor six times. In the political report of the Central Committee made by Lenin he set before the Party the task of economic regeneration.

On the basis of his programme, the congress examined the question of an integrated economic plan with the main emphasis on electrification of the national economy.

Through the prevailing poverty and ruin Lenin

perceived the great vistas of the future. He was deeply convinced that the creative powers inherent in the Soviet system were inexhaustible, that they would be as effective in socialist construction as they had been in the field of battle. He argued that in order to build socialism and communism it was necessary to develop heavy industry and carry out the electrification of the whole country. "*Communism*", he said, "*is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.*" With Russia covered by a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations, he said, her communist economic development would become a model for a future socialist Europe and Asia. Socialism, he said, was impossible without the advance of science and technology. But neither could science develop to the full without socialism. Only socialism could free science from the shackles of capitalism. The enemies of the Soviet Republic at that time maintained that the Bolshevik Party and the people would never be able to cope with the difficulties that faced them, that the plan of electrification was a dream. Even H. G. Wells, the distinguished English writer, failed to appreciate Lenin's great vision. After a talk with the head of the Soviet state during his visit to Moscow in 1920 he described Lenin as "the dreamer in the Kremlin". He saw in Lenin's audacious plan for the electrification of the country nothing but a "Utopia of the electricians". "Come back and see what we have done in Russia in ten years' time," Lenin told him.

At the beginning of 1920, on Lenin's initiative, the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia was set up headed by the veteran Communist G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and including leading scientists and engineers. An idea of the way Lenin directed the work of this commission can be obtained from his numerous letters and notes to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, R. E. Klasson, A. V. Vinter and other leading scientists. Under the harsh conditions that prevailed in 1920, the Communist Party, guided by its leader, initiated a grandiose programme for the development of the country's productive forces on the basis of electrification. It was planned, in the course of 10-15 years, to build 30 large power stations and to increase the output of electricity seventeen times and industrial production nearly fifteen times in comparison with 1920.

Lenin regarded this plan of the electrification of Russia as the foundation of the Party's economic work, its second programme. It marked the beginning of a process of scientifically planned development of all branches of the economy. Lenin's plan of electrification was launched at once amid the then prevailing conditions of economic dislocation and the struggle against external and internal enemies. How happy Lenin was when the first electric lamps, which the people affectionately called "Ilyich's lamps", were switched on in his presence in the little village of Kashino near Moscow.

The plan was completed within a short time,

and when Wells revisited the U.S.S.R. in 1934 he saw this with his own eyes.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Communist Party and its great leader, the workers and peasants achieved victory over the Soviet Republic's numerous and powerful enemies.

In 1920 the Soviet people had to repulse a new assault of the imperialists. This time it was the Polish landowners and bourgeoisie, who, backed by the British and American imperialists, marched against the Soviet Republic.

In a speech made on May 5, 1920, to Red Army men leaving for the Polish front, Lenin said that the Soviet state did not want war, that war had been forced upon it. He exposed the ruling classes of Poland who had unleashed the war, and hailed the heroic struggle of the Polish workers in support of the Soviet Republic. He spoke of the deep feelings of sympathy which the peoples of the Soviet Republic entertained towards the Polish working people.

Again the imperialists' plan of strangling Soviet Russia crumbled. The autumn campaign launched by Baron Wrangel, the last of their henchmen, met with a similar fate.

Socialism won the first decisive round against the forces of the capitalist world. Lenin said with legitimate pride that the country had withstood every attack.

The Civil War ended with the historic victory of the Soviet people, thus confirming Lenin's prophetic words: "A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realise, feel and see

that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people . . . can never be vanquished."

Inspirer and Organiser of Socialist Construction

The Communist Party, led by Lenin, skilfully and fearlessly guided the Soviet people through all the trials and ordeals of the Civil War. But new formidable obstacles arose in the path of economic revival. The imperialists had failed to crush the Soviet Republic by armed force, but they had ruined the country to such an extent that "their problem was half-solved", as Lenin said.

Industrial output was one-seventh of the low pre-war figure. The worst hit were the factories in the areas once occupied by the whiteguards and foreign invaders. Most enterprises were at a standstill for want of fuel and raw material. Per capita production of pig iron and cotton fabrics was less than one kilogram and one metre respectively. The railways were completely disorganised. The workers in the cities were starving. Agriculture was in a state of utter ruin. During the Civil War and intervention the peasants supported the Soviet government, which had given them the land and freed them from the yoke of the landowners. They had endured all hardships, they had made many sacrifices and had accepted

the policy of War Communism. But when the country embarked on peaceful construction, the peasants began to express dissatisfaction with the surplus-requisitioning system. They demanded manufactured goods to restore their farms, but there weren't any. They wanted to be free to dispose of the products of their labour, to sell their produce on the market and buy manufactured goods at a reasonable price, but these things during the period of War Communism had been forbidden.

The enemies of the new social order took advantage of this discontent on the part of the peasants to incite them against Soviet power. In a number of places in Central Russia, the Ukraine, the Don Region and Siberia they succeeded in raising kulak revolts, which were joined by some of the middle peasants. In March 1921 a counter-revolutionary mutiny broke out in Kronstadt.

At this critical moment in the Republic's history Lenin's wisdom was manifested anew when he boldly proposed a sharp reversal in economic policy. The New Economic Policy (NEP) framed by Lenin was a development of the plan for laying the foundations for socialist economy which he had mapped out in 1918 in his pamphlet *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government.*

Lenin said that the rehabilitation of the national economy had to begin with agriculture, since the latter was totally unable to satisfy the grain and raw material needs of the industrial centres. Without this it would be impossible to revive in-

dustry and accumulate the means for developing heavy industry.

Russia, he said, was a country of predominantly small-scale farming. The working class must live on good terms with the millions of peasants, must re-educate them and draw them into socialist construction. This could only be done with the help of a new economic policy.

What was the essence of this policy? Why was it called new?

Lenin proposed that the surplus-requisitioning system be replaced by a tax in kind and that private trade be permitted in grain and other food surpluses. He set before the Party the task of properly organising trade and reorganising the co-operatives. He demanded of Communists that they learn to trade, learn to supply the workers and peasants with cheaper and better commodities than the capitalists. This, he said, would give the peasants an incentive to produce more grain, which in turn would give an impetus to the rehabilitation and development of the entire national economy. NEP, he explained, would tend to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and consolidate Soviet power.

The New Economic Policy was the only correct policy in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. At first it implied a certain retreat, since it permitted private trade and private employment of labour, which led to a partial revival of capitalism. But this was only a temporary retreat and was of no danger to the Soviet system.

The power was in the hands of the workers and peasants. Industry, the land, the banks, the railways, river and marine transport were the property of the state.

The Tenth Congress of the Party, held in 1921, adopted decisions on cardinal questions of the country's political and economic life. The work of the congress was guided by Lenin. He made the opening and the closing speeches, and delivered reports on the Central Committee's political work, on the replacement of the surplus-requisitioning system by a tax in kind, on Party unity and the anarcho-syndicalist deviation, on trade unions, and on the fuel problem. The congress adopted Lenin's proposal to pass over to the New Economic Policy. It also adopted a decision on the trade unions, defining their role and their tasks under the new conditions. It endorsed Lenin's line on the trade unions, which he described as a school of administration, a school of management, a school of communism.

The difficulties the country was living through adversely affected the situation within the Communist Party. Its membership towards the end of 1920 was over 700,000. Less than half were workers and only a quarter were peasants, the rest being salaried employees, artisans and intellectuals. A certain number of former Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had infiltrated into the Party. Some of its members were politically unstable. Anti-Party groups headed by Trotsky, Bukharin and other oppositionists had revived their activities. They came out against Lenin,

against the Party line, on the question of methods of socialist construction and the role of the trade unions. They disrupted Party discipline, tried to split the Party and undermine its strength.

Lenin saw this danger. He attached decisive importance to the unity of the Party, which he regarded as one of the principal sources of the Party's strength. A split within the Party, Lenin pointed out, would inevitably lead to the breakdown of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry, to the collapse of Soviet power and a return to capitalism.

Lenin put forward a motion at the Tenth Congress to ban the existence and the activities of all factions and anti-Party groups within the Party. The congress adopted Lenin's resolution on Party unity and declared that any member of the Party, any member of the C. C. included, would be liable to expulsion for engaging in factional activities. In 1921 Lenin proposed carrying out a purge of the Party ranks. He called for a combing-out of all alien, dishonest, politically unstable and bureaucratic elements who had wormed their way into the Party. As a result of the purge, the composition of the Party improved and its unity was strengthened.

With the endorsement of the law introducing the tax in kind in place of the surplus-requisitioning system, Lenin made it a regular practice to see that these decisions were carried out. He gave advice on how best to organise agricultural production, he supported the socialist sector in farming, carefully studied the activities of the state

farms—that genuinely proletarian form of husbandry, as Lenin put it, and supported the collective farms, while at the same time warning against undue haste in the matter.

In his pamphlet *The Tax in Kind*, the articles "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" and "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism" Lenin explained in detail to the workers and peasants the meaning of the New Economic Policy and how it should be implemented. Acting on Lenin's instructions the Party set to work to rehabilitate the national economy and improve the condition of the people.

Lenin's activities were indefatigable and multifarious. He gave practical advice and instructions concerning work in the Donbas, the oil industry of Baku and the iron and steel industry. He often pointed out the tremendous importance which the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly had for the national economy. The first electric stations were built under his direct supervision. The application of business principles at state enterprises, making them paying concerns, introducing incentive payment, bonus rewards for economy in the use of materials and for improvements in production—all this Lenin considered important for rehabilitating and developing industry. "I think," he wrote, "that trusts and factories have been founded on a self-supporting basis precisely in order that they themselves should be responsible and, moreover, fully responsible, for their enterprises working without a deficit."

He was strongly in favour of the principle of material incentive. "Unless there is personal interest," he wrote, "no damned thing will come of it. We must *find a way* to produce incentives." At the same time he believed in developing a social-minded attitude in the working people, a sense of responsibility and a proprietary interest in their work. Lenin was a determined enemy of mismanagement and a wasteful spending of state funds. Prevention of waste is a law of communist society. It is expressed in Lenin's formula: "At such a time—and for a genuinely communist society, it is always true—every pood of grain and fuel is veritably sacred. . . ."

The Party and the Soviet Government aimed at achieving a strong, centralised and planned management of the national economy while at the same time allowing free rein to local initiative and self-dependence. His letters to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, who then worked as Chairman of the State Planning Commission, show how Lenin guided the work of this Commission, how emphatic he was in demanding that planning be tied up with real life and rest on science and the advanced experience of the masses.

Busy man though he was, Lenin closely followed all promising developments and vistas in science and technology. He showed a lively interest in the employment of coal-cutting machines in the Donbas, in the hydraulic extraction of peat, etc. Documents have come down to us showing what a keen interest he took in inventions and what support and encouragement he gave to inventors.

Lenin devoted considerable attention to the problems of business management and the work of the state apparatus. He was an enemy of bureaucracy, red tape and inefficiency. Commenting on cases of red tape in various central institutions, Lenin wrote: "The machinery of Soviet administration must work accurately, smoothly and swiftly."

He took an active part in the framing of Soviet laws and stood strongly for the observance of revolutionary legality. He sharply criticised the tendency towards hasty and premature office reorganisations. "I am in mortal fear of reorganisations," he wrote in January 1922. He advised that every important measure first be tested in practice before being made law. The legislating, he said, must be done "with triple circumspection. *Look before you leap!*"

None better than Lenin knew the government and Party personnel. What he most appreciated in them were devotion to communism, knowledge of one's business and firmness in carrying out the Party's line, coupled with flexibility and a tactful, considerate attitude towards people.

Lenin considered it useful from time to time to switch Party cadres to business jobs, pointing out that "the C.C. apparatus must be strengthened and brought into *closer touch* with the local areas". He urged the "business executives appointed by the C.C. to bring the local areas into line, check their work and instruct them". The Party has been guided by these principles of

Lenin's in the matter of personnel handling and training.

Lenin was sharply critical of all administrative zeal, bossiness and rudeness towards one's subordinates. On one occasion, in March 1919, hearing complaints of rudeness on the part of A. G. Pravdin, a member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, he told G. I. Petrovsky, the People's Commissar, to punish Pravdin severely and control his activities, inasmuch as he "has a tendency towards stupid 'order issuing'."

Lenin advised that in sizing people up, one should lend an ear to the opinion of the working people. "The working masses," he wrote, "have a fine intuition, which enables them to distinguish honest and devoted Communists from those who arouse the disgust of people earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, enjoying no privileges and having no 'pull'."

The high pressure at which he worked, coupled with the after-affects of the wound he received in 1918 (one of the bullets was still lodged in his body), undermined Lenin's health. Beginning with the winter of 1921, at the insistence of his doctors, he was obliged to interrupt his work frequently for rest and medical treatment. In 1922 his health took a sharp turn for the worse. Notwithstanding his ill-health, however, he continued to attend daily to his state duties.

In March 1922 he addressed the Eleventh Congress of the Party. In his political report on be-

half of the C.C. he reviewed the first year of the New Economic Policy. He noted with satisfaction that progress had been made in all sectors of the national economy and that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry had grown stronger. At the same time he criticised shortcomings, setting an example of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism aimed at improving the work of government, Party and business organisations. Lenin declared that the retreat was over and that it was now necessary to organise an offensive against the capitalist elements. Commenting on the role of the Party in building the new life, Lenin uttered his prophetic words to the effect that no power in the world could take away the gains of the October Socialist Revolution, for these gains were now part of world history. This was the last Party congress Lenin was to address.

Lenin moved to Gorki, outside Moscow, for the summer. At the end of May he had a severe relapse. A slight improvement in his health occurring in the middle of July, he resumed his business correspondence and demanded that books be sent to him. The literature which Lenin read at this period, namely, 32 different newspapers, 137 magazines in different languages and many books, has been preserved in the museum at Gorki.

Workers and peasants from all over the country sent Lenin anxious messages of greeting in which they expressed their deep love for their leader and wished him a speedy recovery. The

workers of the First Goznak Factory in Moscow passed a resolution that "Vladimir Ilyich be given three months' holiday and that he be required at once to carry out doctors' orders and restore his strength for the sake of the working people".

The peasants of Muchkap District, Borisoglebsk Uyezd, Tambov Gubernia, wrote: "Our dearly beloved teacher and comrade, we, the delegates to the district congress, send you on behalf of 15,000 peasants our very best wishes for your speedy and complete recovery. Our fellow-villagers want to know when you will be signing decrees for our welfare again. We ... entreat you not to get up too soon and we wish you a good rest and complete recovery."

In October Lenin returned to work. He presided over the Council of People's Commissars, participated in the work of the Party's Central Committee, and delivered speeches.

At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern on November 13, 1922 Lenin delivered a report entitled "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution". Lenin told the delegates what the Soviet power had achieved on the basis of the New Economic Policy. Thanks to the Communist Party's policy and the heroic labour of the workers, the Soviet Republic, he said, had succeeded in achieving on the basis of NEP, a general economic advance. The financial system had been strengthened, trade had been organised, peasant farming had made progress, a step had been made towards rehabili-

tating light industry, an improvement was to be observed in the condition of heavy industry, the condition of the workers had improved, and there were also advances in the field of culture. Lenin showed that these successes were the outcome of the Communist Party's and the Soviet Government's correct policy.

He wound up his speech by telling the delegates that the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the lessons of the Russian revolution should be assimilated by them in a creative, not dogmatic, spirit.

On November 20, 1922, Lenin made a speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Moscow Soviet in which he reviewed the situation in the country after the defeat of the whiteguards and interventionists, outlined the tasks facing the people, indicated the ways and means of dealing with them, and urged the need for thrift and good management in running the national economy. He laid special emphasis on the role of the Party in building the socialist society. He expressed the firm conviction that "NEP Russia will become socialist Russia". This was Lenin's last public speech.

Lenin gave a good deal of attention to strengthening the ties of friendship among the peoples. He had always fought against national oppression and inequality, which were so much to the advantage of the exploiters. After the victory of the October Revolution Lenin showed constant concern for the development of the national republics, for he regarded the friendship of the peoples

as the foundation on which the strength of the Soviet state rested. He proposed that the various Soviet republics be united into a single state.

He wrote letters to the members of the Party's Politbureau "On the Formation of the U.S.S.R." and "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" in which he set forth the basic principles for the unification of the republics, namely, the creation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a voluntary union of independent nations enjoying equal rights and based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. This was the first multinational state in history based on friendship among the nations and it was in this friendship that Lenin saw the source of the Soviet state's indomitable strength.

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets (December 1922) passed a resolution on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin was already too ill to attend. But the entire work of the congress, the Declaration on the formation of the U.S.S.R. and the Treaty of Union were an embodiment of his instructions, and were inspirited by the idea of equality and brotherly co-operation of nations. Lenin was elected Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

In December 1922 Lenin had another relapse, but rallied somewhat in January and February 1923; during this period he dictated his famous articles, the last he ever wrote: "Letter to the Congress", "Pages From a Diary", "On Co-operation", "Our Revolution", "How We Should Re-

organise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection", "Better Fewer, But Better".

His indomitable will, awareness of his responsibility, and concern for the future of his country, for its continued progress, gave Lenin the strength to fight the suffering which his illness caused him and accomplish things which seemed beyond the bounds of human endurance. Seriously ill though he was, he wrote a number of outstanding works in the short period of six weeks.

The significance of Lenin's last letters and articles isinestimable. Closely interlinked, they are essentially a comprehensive work in which he developed the conclusions and propositions contained in his earlier writings and speeches, completed his elaboration of the great plan of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. and mapped out a programme for Russia's socialist transformation in the light of the general prospects of the world liberation movement.

Lenin considered that Russia had everything she needed to build socialism. The main task, he pointed out, was to rehabilitate and develop industry, particularly heavy industry, put an end to economic and technical backwardness, and advance to front rank among the leading countries of the world. To accomplish this it would be necessary to develop big industry, industrialise and electrify the entire country and increase labour productivity.

Lenin believed that to build socialism, it was necessary to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The working

class was to lead the peasants, draw them into the work of building socialism, help them to reorganise their small, scattered, individual farms into large-scale mechanised collective farms. The only way to draw the peasants into socialist construction was through the co-operatives. In the co-operatives the personal interest of the peasants could be linked with the common interests of the state and the community as a whole. The Soviet state was to help the peasants organise their co-operatives by supplying them with tractors and other farm machinery. As far back as 1919, in his report to the Eighth Congress of the Party, Lenin said that if we could give the countryside a hundred thousand first-class tractors and provide them with operators, the peasants would vote for communism.

The building of socialism was linked in Lenin's mind with the cultural revolution. This was a task of paramount importance. No funds should be grudged for public education, he said. He set before the Party the task of speedily putting an end to illiteracy, extending the network of elementary, secondary, special and higher schools, developing all branches of science, and building up an intelligentsia from among the people.

The proletarian state, he taught, was the chief instrument for the building of socialism. The Soviet power had destroyed the old machinery of state and created a new, Soviet apparatus, and had drawn the working masses into its work. This was a tremendous historic achievement. At first, however, some parts of this apparatus worked

poorly. The young Soviet cadres did not as yet have sufficient experience in government.

Lenin persistently taught the masses to govern the state, to master the technique of management. He fought hard against bureaucracy, against callousness towards the needs and interests of the working people, against a formal attitude to work. His own life was an example of self-discipline and efficiency. The meetings of the Council of People's Commissars over which he presided were always conducted with business-like precision. Lenin was never a minute late for them. Speakers were allowed no more than three to five minutes. Lenin demanded that the speakers give accurate, verified facts and figures and make clear proposals. He was intolerant of mere verbiage, vague statements, indefinite and inaccurate information. He listened attentively to representatives from the localities and to the opinion of rank-and-file personnel. He was always ready to appoint new people to committee work and gave them special assignments.

He thought highly of collective work and encouraged it. He considered it wrong to make decisions on important questions without their being discussed in the Central Committee of the Party or in the Council of People's Commissars. He was for having all questions carefully discussed and collectively settled. He considered collectivism the cardinal principle of Party and state leadership.

This principle, in Lenin's time, was never violated. Even during the Civil War, when the convocation of congresses was rendered extremely

difficult, they were held regularly every year: the Seventh Congress in 1918, the Eighth in 1919, the Ninth in 1920, the Tenth in 1921, and the Eleventh in 1922. Lenin did not attend the Twelfth Congress in 1923 owing to illness, but its proceedings were guided by his instructions.

At the same time Lenin made it clear that collective leadership did not rule out strict personal responsibility for one's job. He demanded of all government and Party functionaries initiative, a high sense of personal responsibility, strict verification of the enforcement of all government laws and regulations, a check-up on how things worked out in practice, as he liked to put it. He set a particularly high standard for Communists. They are representatives of the Bolshevik Party, he repeatedly pointed out, and the people will judge the entire Party by their behaviour. This binds them to setting a good example everywhere and in everything. He emphasised that Party members had no priorities or privileges over other people, but only higher responsibilities.

Relentless in laying bare the shortcomings in the work of Soviet institutions, Lenin demanded that the hangovers from the past be rooted out and that the state apparatus be purged of all traces of extravagance. He was for simplifying the state apparatus, cutting down personnel and expenses to a minimum. He taught people to adopt a new, socialist attitude to work, to their duties, and to strictly observe Soviet laws. He fought against bribery, which he called the accursed legacy of tsarism. In May 1918 he instructed D. I. Kursky,

then People's Commissar for Justice, to draft a law providing for severe punishment for bribery.

Lenin himself was a model of the strict self-discipline which he demanded of Party and government officials. The Party's decision was law to him, and he demanded the same attitude in others. He used to say that the person who violated Party discipline was helping the enemies of the Party.

Soviet laws and the rules of socialist community life were binding on everyone, Lenin said. He made no allowance in this respect for anybody. In May 1918 he administered a severe reprimand to the office manager of the Council of People's Commissars for having unwarrantedly raised Lenin's salary.

Once, when Lenin needed some books from the Rumyantsev library (now the Lenin Library), he asked that they be sent to his home, adding that if this was against the rules, he would keep the books for only one night, when the library was closed, and return them in the morning.

Lenin possessed endearing human qualities, such as modesty, simplicity and fellow-feeling. He could not stand praise and glorification where his own person was concerned. On their leader's fiftieth birthday, Moscow Communists decided to hold a meeting in honour of the occasion. Lenin arrived only towards the end of the meeting and, complying with the comrades' insistent requests, gave a short speech which he devoted wholly to the Party. He warned Communists against the danger of self-conceit and called upon the Party

to concentrate its attention on outstanding problems.

Lenin was irreconcilable to the enemies of socialism and very demanding and unrelenting towards those who neglected Party and state discipline or were guilty of careless work. One must learn to do a job ten times over, if need be, he said, but get it done at all costs.

He gave careful attention to letters and complaints from working people, and taught the staffs of the entire Soviet apparatus to do likewise. He gave instructions to the secretaries that all complaints received in writing should be reported to him within twenty-four hours and oral complaints within forty-eight hours. He demanded that a strict check be kept on the fulfilment of decisions taken in connection with such complaints.

In his last articles he reverted again and again to the need for pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, fighting persistently for peace, for the establishment of business contacts with capitalist countries, and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. At the same time he urged that constant vigilance be practised, that the country's defences be strengthened, and that the Red Army be guarded as the apple of one's eye. Lenin firmly believed that socialism, being the more progressive system, would ultimately triumph in all countries.

One of Lenin's last writings was his "Letter to the Congress". This letter was read out to the delegates of the Thirteenth Congress of the Party in May 1924. In it Lenin again stressed the need

for preserving the unity of the Party. He regarded a cohesive and stable Central Committee as an essential condition for Party unity. In the "Letter to the Congress" he proposed that the number of C.C. members be increased to several score, if not up to a hundred. This measure, Lenin wrote, was necessary to enhance the prestige and authority of the C.C. as a collective body and "to prevent conflicts between small sections of the C.C. from acquiring excessive importance for the future of the Party". The letter was full of concern for the unity and strength of the Party.

Trotsky opposed Lenin's plan of strengthening the C.C. and increasing its membership, but he was rebuffed by the Central Committee.

In his letter Lenin examined the question of Party stability from the standpoint of the personal qualities of some of the C.C. members, and briefly characterised Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Bukharin, Pyatakov and Stalin.

He pointed out that the capitulatory behaviour of Kamenev and Zinoviev on the eve of the October Revolution had not been accidental. He mentioned Trotsky's non-Bolshevism, his struggle against the Central Committee, and described him as a man who took things with excessive self-assurance and was excessively fond of ordering people about. He is with us, Lenin said of Trotsky, but not one of us.

In the same letter Lenin expressed misgivings that Stalin, having concentrated great power in his hands, would not be able to use it with sufficient discretion because of his major personal

faults. He asked the congress to consider the question of removing Stalin from the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee. Lenin believed this post should be occupied by a person "who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc."

The Thirteenth Congress took into consideration Stalin's uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism and his defence of the Party's Leninist line, and retained him in the post of General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee.

In the beginning of March 1923 Lenin's health took a sharp turn for the worse. In May he moved back to Gorki. The Party, the entire people anxiously followed the reports concerning their leader's health. Towards the middle of the summer his condition slightly improved, and on October 18 and 19 he visited Moscow. Nadezhda Krupskaya describes this in her reminiscences: "One fine day he went to the garage, got into the car and insisted on being driven to Moscow. There he went through all the rooms, went into his workroom, looked into the assembly hall of the Council of People's Commissars, then expressed a desire to drive about the town. He drove past the Agricultural Exhibition. He sorted out his notebooks, selected three volumes of Hegel, which he took away with him. . . . The next day he was in a hurry to go back."

At the beginning of November 1923 a delegation of workers from the Glukhovo Mill visited Lenin at Gorki. They brought a gift of eighteen cherry-trees. They were shown into the reception room. Presently the door opened and Lenin came in, smiling. He went up to the workers and shook hands with each of them. After five minutes in Lenin's company the delegates took their leave of him, embracing and kissing him. The last to say good-bye to him was a sixty-year-old workman named Kuznetsov. They both stood with their arms around each other for about two minutes. The old man kept repeating through his tears: "I'm a workman, Vladimir Ilyich, a hammersmith. We shall forge everything you told us to."

When they had gone Lenin sat up till late in the night, reading and rereading the letter of greeting from the Glukhovo workers. It was his last meeting with workers.

On January 21, 1924, at 6.50 p.m. Lenin died of a brain haemorrhage.

On the night of January 21 the Central Committee of the Party met in a plenary session and drew up an appeal to the people which said: "The man is dead under whose militant leadership our Party, enveloped in the smoke of battle, hoisted with firm hand the banner of October throughout the land, crushed the resistance of the enemies and securely established the supremacy of the working people in former tsarist Russia. The founder of the Communist International, the leader of world communism, the love

and pride of the international proletariat, the standard-bearer of the oppressed East, the head of the workers' dictatorship in Russia is dead."

The sad tidings spread swiftly throughout the land, and to all corners of the earth. On January 22 M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, announced the death of Lenin to the delegates of the Eleventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which was being held at the time.

On January 23 the body of Lenin was brought to Moscow from Gorki and laid in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions. For four days and nights, in a bitter frost, hundreds of thousands of people—workers and peasants, Red Army men and office workers, delegations from all over the Soviet land, adults and children—passed through the Hall of Columns to pay their last respects to their great leader. The nation's grief was overwhelming.

On January 26 a memorial sitting of the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets was held in the Bolshoi Theatre. The first speaker was M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee. He said that the Soviet Government would undeviatingly follow Lenin's behests in both its internal and foreign policy. Krupskaya wound up her speech with an appeal to all the working people of the Soviet Union, to all the world's disinherited, to rally under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of communism.

Among other speakers at the congress were J. V. Stalin, Klara Zetkin, and N. Narimanov.

A.N. Sergeyev spoke on behalf of the workers of the Krasny Putilovets Works, A. B. Krayushkin on behalf of the non-Party peasants, K. Y. Voroshilov on behalf of the Red Army, P. I. Smorodin on behalf of the youth, and Academician S. F. Oldenburg on behalf of the scientists.

The congress passed a decision to perpetuate Lenin's memory and adopted an address to the working people of the world. It emphasised that the best memorial to Lenin would be the wide and mass dissemination of his works, which carried the ideas of communism to all corners of the earth.

At the request of the workers of Petrograd, the congress renamed their city, which was henceforth to be called Leningrad.

The funeral took place at 4 o'clock on January 27. The coffin was installed in a Mausoleum specially built for it in Red Square.

The Soviet people took leave of their leader with deep sorrow. The international proletariat called a stoppage of all work for five minutes. Motor vehicles and trains stood still, work stopped at factories and mills as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, leader and teacher of the world's working people, their best friend and protector, was laid to rest.

The death of Lenin was a grievous loss to the Party, to the working class of the Soviet Union, to the entire communist and labour movement of the world. To make up for this tremendous loss, the Party rallied still closer around the Central Committee, while the working masses rallied

around the Party of Lenin. Tens of thousands of workers expressed a desire to join Lenin's Party. The Central Committee announced a special Lenin Enrolment of workers at the bench, and within a few weeks over 240,000 workers had joined the Party.

True to Lenin's precepts and teachings, the Communist Party, which he created and steeled, has led the Soviet people along the path which the great man had charted.

The Triumph of Leninism

Lenin bequeathed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the international communist movement and all mankind his great revolutionary teaching—Leninism—that never-failing fount of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

Lenin's works marked a new, Leninist, stage in the development of Marxism at the turn of the century, an epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the rise and triumph of socialism and communism. Lenin was the greatest scholar of revolutionary theory and a revolutionary in science. He enriched all the component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism—with new conclusions and propositions. That is why the attempts of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists to draw a line between Leninism and Marxism are utterly untenable. There can be no Marxism under present-day conditions with-

out the great contribution which Lenin made towards it.

Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the downfall of colonialism and of the victory of the national liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society. It is only a Leninist understanding of Marxism that fully responds to the latter's true content and to its revolutionary spirit.

The opponents of Leninism, the revisionists try to deny the international importance of Leninism. They assert that Leninism is supposedly a purely Russian phenomenon, that it could arise and spread only in the conditions prevalent in Russia. This allegation has been disproved by life itself. Leninism is a great international teaching and is applicable to all countries. Any attempts artificially to divide Leninism into national or regional "variants" inevitably end in revision of the principles of the revolutionary teaching. It is by its nature a single whole and is the property of all Communists, of all revolutionary workers, and of all the working people of the world.

Marxism-Leninism is the only theory of the development of human society to have withstood all the tests of time. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are living and triumphing in the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., in the achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, and in the growth of the world communist movement and of the national liberation forces.

Lenin gave a profound scientific substantiation for the plan of building socialism in the Land of Soviets. The basic elements of his plan were the socialist industrialisation of the country, the socialist transformation of agriculture, and the cultural revolution. The Communist Party upheld the great ideas of Leninism in its irreconcilable struggle against the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, and nationalist deviationists, put these ideas into practice, and achieved historic successes of world-wide consequence. These successes multiplied with every five-year plan and Russia, from the backward country it was under the Tsars, turned, as the Soviet Union, into a mighty socialist state and one of the greatest powers in the world, this transformation being the heroic feat of its working class and of the whole Soviet people.

The main factor behind these achievements was the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has now become the state of the whole people, a political organisation of the entire people, in which the working class plays the leading role.

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan of 1971-1975 which followed the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U., a new and great advance was achieved in the creation of the material and technical basis for communism, in raising the standard of living of the workers, and in strengthening the country's defence and security. The Soviet Union has become world's biggest producer of coal, iron ore, oil, steel, cement, tractors, diesel engines, mineral fertiliser, wool, cotton, and other products.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan also saw the achieve-

ment of great successes in the development of agriculture; it was re-equipped with new machinery and the economies of the collective and state farms were consolidated. Agriculture received a vast quantity of new machinery in those five years: 1,700,000 tractors, 449,000 combine-harvesters and other machinery. This enabled the farmers to overcome, despite extremely unfavourable weather conditions, the consequences of the droughts in 1972 and 1975 and far from reducing to increase by 13 per cent the average yearly agricultural output as compared to the Eighth Five-Year Plan. Collective farmers' remuneration increased by 25 per cent and their living standards were radically improved which in many respects came to approach those of town-dwellers.

The main aim of the Party is to raise the Soviet people's standard of living. This task was carried out successfully during the Ninth Five-Year Plan: 80 per cent of the country's national income was used for precisely this task of increasing the nation's well-being. One of the clearest indices in this respect is the fact that the housing conditions of 56 million people have been improved, the pay of many sections of the Soviet Union's working people has been increased, pensions have been raised, and the health service and working and living conditions have been improved.

The achievements of the Soviet economy stand out with particular clarity against the background of the severe economic crisis under which the capitalist world is labouring.

The Soviet people's achievements in the fields

of culture, education, and science have also been great. What Lenin with his genius foresaw—that under socialism and communism man's intelligence, science, and technology would for the first time in history be used in the interests of the people and that it would be impossible to turn these against the working people—has come true. A socialist and genuinely popular culture has been created in the Soviet Union the greatest achievement of which has been to form a communist consciousness in the millions-strong working masses.

Great successes have also been achieved by the socialist countries. Their ties and mutual co-operation in the fields of economics, politics, culture, ideology, and in various aspects of the lives of their societies have grown more solid. The Communist parties have formed an unbreakable and militant union which is the main guiding force of the socialist community.

The Soviet way of life is characterised by collectivism and comradeship, friendship of all nations and nationalities in the country which are growing stronger with every passing day. A new historical community—the Soviet people—has taken shape during the building of socialism.

Describing Soviet society in the present stage of development, L. I. Brezhnev said in the report of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress in February 1976. "We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never known before. It is a society

with a crisis-free, steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom. It is a society governed by the scientific materialist world outlook. It is a society of firm confidence in the future, of radiant communist prospects. Before it lie boundless horizons of further all-round progress."

The Tenth Five-Year Plan for 1976-1980 outlined by the 25th C.P.S.U. Congress will be a new important stage in communist construction. There will be a new improvement in the well-being of the Soviet people and considerable progress will be made in public health, education and culture—in everything that contributes to the moulding of a new man, to the advancement of the socialist way of life.

The socio-economic programme outlined by the 25th C.P.S.U. Congress is based on a realistic assessment of the resources and possibilities available. Never before has the Soviet Union possessed such an immense economic, scientific and technological potential, such a huge body of skilled manpower, such a wealth of experience in economic development.

Success in solving the economic and social problems facing the country will be determined by a rapid rise in labour productivity, a sharp increase in the efficiency of social production as a whole.

The building of a developed socialist society, as well as all the achievements in industry and agriculture, science and technology, the growth of the well-being and higher cultural standards of the people are organically linked with the great

political, ideological and organising activities of the C.P.S.U., its Leninist Central Committee, the Political Bureau headed by L. I. Brezhnev, a staunch Leninist, an outstanding statesman and an indefatigable fighter for peace.

The C.P.S.U. is a party of scientific communism: all its activities are based on Marxist-Leninist theory. The C.P.S.U. is invariably guided by Lenin's ideas, develops them creatively and translates them into life. The Communist Party has firmly and consistently led and is leading the people along the Leninist path towards communism. In the conditions of full-scale socialism the C.P.S.U., having become a party of the whole people, has not forfeited its class character; it has been and remains a party of the working class, the leading class in Soviet society. The 25th Congress demonstrated the indestructible unity and cohesion of the Party ranks, the loyalty of the Party to its Leninist banner.

L. I. Brezhnev's report to the 25th C.P.S.U. Congress is a model of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory in a new historical situation. It gives a profound analysis of the Party's activities in the conditions of developed socialist society and sets forth a comprehensive programme which is a guide to action for the entire Soviet people. The report emphasised the indissoluble unity of the Party and the people: "The people trust the Party. The people wholeheartedly support the Party's domestic and foreign policy. This augments the Party's strength and serves as an inexhaustible source of energy." This is a guaran-

tee that the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled and the Soviet Union will score new spectacular successes. While approving enthusiastically the decisions of the 25th C.P.S.U. Congress, work collectives are taking on new, higher obligations and developing socialist emulation on a broad scale. It is a matter of honour for Soviet people to fulfil the congress decisions.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government unswervingly pursue a foreign policy whose foundation was laid by Lenin. The core of this policy is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Guided by Lenin's instructions the 24th C.P.S.U. Congress worked out a comprehensive Peace Programme, and all the activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have been directed to its consistent implementation. It rests on the economic and defence potential of the country, on the initiative and achievements of the Soviet people. An outstanding role in elaborating and implementing Soviet foreign policy is played by L. I. Brezhnev.

Over the past few years the international position of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole have been consolidated considerably. A turn has been achieved from the cold war to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, from dangerous tensions to détente and mutually beneficial co-operation with the capitalist states. This has been made possible by the change in the alignment of forces on the world scene. An important stage on the way to

détente was the European conference in Helsinki held on Soviet initiative. The peace policy of the Soviet Union meets the vital interests of all nations and enjoys their support; it is pursued in close co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries, whose influence on world developments is becoming deeper and stronger. The Soviet Union and the United States have concluded a number of agreements which have laid the groundwork for developing mutually beneficial co-operation on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The 25th Party Congress has mapped out a broad programme of struggle for peace, which is an organic extension and development of the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Congress. This programme provides for further joint steps in the promotion of the cause of peace by the socialist states; efforts towards a cessation of the arms race, a transition to general and complete disarmament; stamping out of hotbeds of war and, above all, a just settlement in the Middle East. The Peace Programme also proposes measures to promote détente, to achieve security in Asia, to conclude a world treaty on abstension from the use of force in international relations; eradication of all the vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, etc.

At the same time it was openly declared at the 25th Congress that while coming out for lasting peace, for easing tensions, against the arms race and military blocs, the Soviet Union jointly with other member states of the Warsaw Treaty would

keep on strengthening this military-political alliance as long as the NATO military bloc existed and the militarist circles continued the arms race.

The Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Berlin late in June 1976 is a highly significant event in the struggle for peace in Europe, for security, co-operation and progress. The document it adopted, "For Peace, Security, Co-operation and Social Progress in Europe", is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism; it sets the guidelines for the working class—the leading force of social development—for the mass of the working people in their struggle for ending the arms race, for consolidating détente, and in defence of their vital rights.

The conference pointed out that the main revolutionary forces are the socialist states, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. In alliance with all the democratic forces they are capable of overcoming the resistance of reaction and averting the outbreak of a world war.

The conference demonstrated the unbreakable link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress. The document stresses the need "to isolate and overcome anti-communism" and combat forces campaigning against the Communist parties and the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, against the forces of socialism and progress.

The conference declared that the Communist parties will continue developing international co-

operation and solidarity in accordance with the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It raised aloft the banner of unity and cohesion of the fraternal parties and demonstrated their readiness—each by its own means and methods, depending on the specific conditions—to contribute to the common cause of struggle for their noble aims.

Proletarian internationalism has always been the most powerful and tested weapon of the Communist parties, of the entire working class in the struggle for remaking the world in the interests of the toiling masses.

The main theme of the supporters of the arms race is their invention about the so-called Soviet menace. L. I. Brezhnev described it as a monstrous lie from beginning to end. "The Soviet Union," he said at the 25th Party Congress, "has not the slightest intention of attacking anyone. The Soviet Union does not need war.... In the eyes of the peoples of the whole world, the Land of Soviets is by right regarded as the bulwark, the standard-bearer of peace. We have done and will continue to do all we can to safeguard and consolidate peace, and to rid mankind of new destructive wars!" Peace and socialism are inseparable.

The C.P.S.U., all Soviet people have invariably deemed it their prime duty to educate the popular masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of friendship among nations. Historical experience has demonstrated that a departure from proletarian internationalism inevitably re-

sults in grave damage to the international working-class and communist movement, to the interests of the peoples.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the world communist movement has now grown into an invincible force. This is irrefutable proof of the vitality of the teaching of Lenin, who tirelessly called for strengthening the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties according to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

As acknowledged by the majority of the Communist parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is one of the most experienced and strongest contingents of the international communist and working-class movement, and is connected with the other fraternal parties by its unwavering loyalty to the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the common goals in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people. The Soviet people and its Communist Party are steadfastly following the line of proletarian internationalism, proceeding from the principle of unity of the international and national tasks. The great goal of the Soviet people—the construction of communism—is simultaneously its chief international duty.

The prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the international communist movement was made particularly clear at the 25th Congress of the C.P.S.U. It was attended by representatives of 103 communist, workers', national-democratic and socialist parties from 96 countries. In their statements at the congress they whole-

heartedly approved of the activities of the C.P.S.U.

The unprecedentedly broad international response to the work of the congress speaks of its great importance and the high role of the Communist Party. In the opinion of the leaders of the international communist and working-class movement, General Secretary Brezhnev's report to the congress is pervaded with ideas of humanism; it centres on two goals dearest to humanity: peace and prosperity.

* * *

Over a century has passed since the birth of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the world's first socialist state and the leader and teacher of the working masses of the whole world, who so brilliantly carried forward the cause and teaching of Marx and Engels.

The Soviet people, the peoples of socialist countries, the international working class, all progressives take guidance from Lenin's ideas which show the way to the radiant future—communism.

The peoples' love for Lenin, who gave all his strength, all the powers of his great mind to the struggle for the interests and happiness of the toiling people, is boundless. His name is infinitely dear to all the people of our planet. It has become a symbol of proletarian revolutions, socialism and progress, a symbol of communist transformation

of the world. Lenin's immortal ideas are exercising a growing influence on the whole course of world history.

The image of Lenin—leader and teacher—the image of a man of crystal moral purity, singular modesty and simplicity, inexhaustible revolutionary energy, high principles and selfless devotion, a man inspired with irreconcilable hatred for the exploiters, for the enemies of the working class, and deep love for the working people, will live forever in the hearts and minds of men.

The contemporaries of Lenin who had the good fortune to see him, work with him and know him intimately, rightly point out that his traits of character made him the prototype of the man of the future communist society.

The name of Lenin, his great cause and teachings will live on through the ages.

Lenin's cause is invincible!

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GUSEV K., NAUMOV V. *The USSR: A Short History*

In this book the well-known Soviet scholars K. Gusev and V. Naumov give a popular account of the history of the world's first socialist state, focussing the attention of the reader on the fundamental stages in the building of socialism and the long-range development perspectives of Soviet society.

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
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RESHETOV P., SKURLATOV V. *Soviet Youth. A Socio-Political Outline.* Progress. Books About the USSR Series

P. Reshetov, Assistant Professor at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU, and V. Skurlatov, a senior research worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, have employed a broad ange of factual material based to a considerable degree on the research of Soviet sociologists. The book recounts what the socialist state has done for its youth in the 60 years of its existence. The reader will acquaint himself with a variety of facts on the life of Soviet youth. Citing the opinions of young workers, peasants and students, the authors reveal the attitude of today's youth to Soviet reality. The account of the USSR's younger generation is illustrated with facts concerning the participation of Soviet youth in the economic, political and

social life of Soviet Society and the role they play in the decision-making process. The book gives a good picture of how young people take advantage of the possibilities they are offered for the development of the personality. One of the important topics covered is the internationalism of Soviet youth and their international ties.

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
is preparing for print

DESYATERIK V., LATYSHEV A. *Lenin and Young Revolutionaries Abroad*

The material in this book provides a picture of Lenin's correspondence, conversations and meetings with the youth of 26 countries in Europe, Asia and America. It covers the period from 1907 to 1922 and includes biographical materials, his writings, excerpts from the works of historians and memoirists, and commentary to the interesting photographs included by the authors.

Lenin carefully followed the development of revolutionary events abroad. His advice to young revolutionaries provided a concrete programme of action and pointed to the need for a Marxist analysis of concrete social and political circumstances and for the creative application of the Russian experience. Citing numerous facts and examples, the authors show how Lenin's ideas influenced many young representatives of the revolutionary proletarian movement in many countries.

On the basis of a broad range of factual material the authors convincingly demonstrate that the lives of those who reached maturity in the early part of the century are inextricably tied up with Leninism and the implementation of Lenin's ideas.

The edition contains a considerable number of historical photographs.

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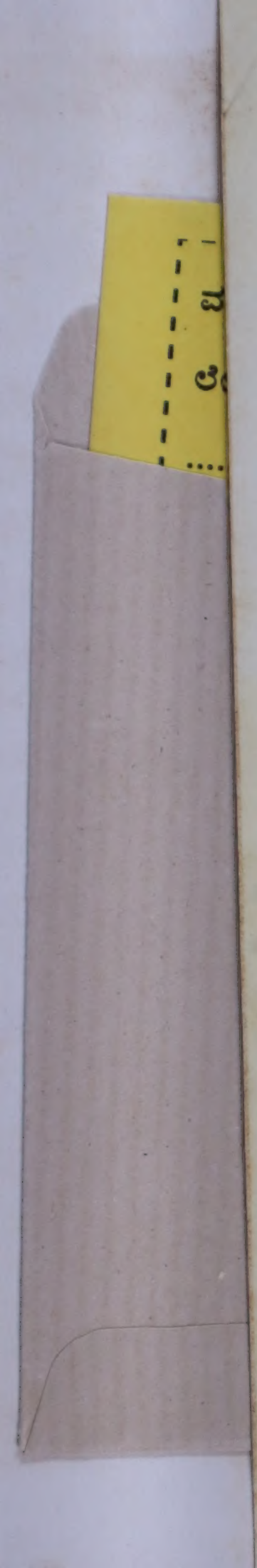

This small book briefly summarises the principal landmarks in the life and work of Lenin, and his immortal teaching, which lights the way for all peoples to that radiant future—communism.